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A Biblical Understanding of Religious Experience¹

JACK BOOZER*

SEVERAL times recently I have heard or read: "That is an interesting point of view, but it isn't biblical." I hear others speaking of the "biblical point of view," and I catch myself speaking in the same way. It is a sort of occupational disease of biblical instructors to confront any statement with which they are not in agreement with the derogation: "That is simply not biblical."

C. H. Dodd has written in *The Bible Today* two statements about which some question should be raised. These concern the prophetic experience of God and Paul's experience of Christ.

When the prophets say, "I saw the Lord," or "The Lord said unto me," or "The Spirit of the Lord came upon me," we can see that the experience to which they refer was an element in a total experience of life which was rational and coherent, forming a logical unity in itself. We can see it clearly enough in prophets such as Isaiah and Jeremiah, whose biographies are in large measure open to us. Their visions and auditions were not aberrations, unrelated to their experience of life as a whole.²

It seems clear that, upon one side at least, the New Testament experience of an encounter with the risen Christ was analogous to the prophetic experience. . . . Paul's meeting with Christ is of a piece

with his total experience of life. It is no aberration.³

The words, "rational and coherent," "logical unity," and "no aberration" strike me as saying rather too much for the rationality of religious experience reported in the Bible. Knowing something of Rudolf Otto's *Idea of the Holy*, the spur of Dodd has led to a study of some biblical accounts of religious experience with a view to determining how "biblical" Otto's analysis of religious experience is.

I. TYPES OF BIBLICAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

In order that subsequent stages of religious experience may be taken into account, three reports are selected from the Bible: a cultic, Moses and the bush (Exodus 3:1ff); a prophetic, the vision of Isaiah (Isaiah 6); and an apostolic, Paul's conversion (Acts 9:3ff).

In the appearance of God to Moses through the burning bush there is a distinctly numinous quality, with moral elements lacking completely, or, at most, implied in God's recognition of "the affliction" of his people. The nonrational aspect of God's appearance is suggested in term after term: "angel," "flame," "bush not consumed," "the Lord saw," "God called," "draw nigh," "put off your shoes from your feet, for the place upon which you are standing is holy ground," "and Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look at God."⁴

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Within the context, God is power, threatening and impulsive. He has heard the people's cry and he has "come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians." Moses does not know this God, but his interest is elicited. There is something here which causes him to turn aside. Having turned aside, Moses is struck with the power, the claim, and the awfulness of this one. He hid his face, but there is no indication that Moses feels evil in the presence of goodness. His response is more elemental, "awe" before the powerful one who is.

Dr. Rylaarsdam puts it as follows. "In the Exodus event God is disclosed as power, rather than either as justice or love. Moral demand and forgiveness of sin play scarcely any role. It must be noted that this emphasis on power and authority remains basic in the Bible. The moments of judgment and forgiveness are predicated upon it. Moses is in the presence of power."⁵

Isaiah 6 is chosen as a second biblical account of religious experience. Once again the description is given by words with a heavy numinous import: "I saw the Lord," "high and lifted up," "Seraphim," "Holy, Holy, Holy," "the foundations shook," "smoke," "Woe is me." In this case, however, there is present a moral understanding of the appearance of God. Isaiah stands before One who is more than a consuming fire; he stands before the Holy One, whose holiness impels him to speak of his uncleanness. "Woe is me! For I am lost; for I am a man of unclean lips: for my eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts!"

There is an interesting contrast between the Moses and Isaiah stories in what is said about Moses and what Isaiah says. "And Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look at God." Isaiah says: "Woe is me! For I am lost." Moses is afraid in the face of a threatening power which he has no means of predicting or controlling. Isaiah is lost in the face of a holiness which demands a "cleanness" which he does not have to offer.

With Moses the "goodness" of God consists in his seeing the affliction of his people and acting to release them, and subsequently in God's "speaking" demands upon the people. With Moses, God's goodness is paternalistic, a series of projects which his power adopts.

With Isaiah, on the other hand, there is no distinction possible between power and goodness. God is not goodness momentarily powerful, nor is he power momentarily moral. The response of Isaiah to the compelling presence is a response in which the power and goodness elements are mutually constitutive. There is no suggestion here that God has become moral, no fanfare for a new insight, no proclamation of discovery about God's nature. God is manifest to Isaiah in such a way that his *tremendum* is demanding, his *fascinans* overwhelming.

The effect of the experience in the life of Isaiah is rational in that he is given a message and that he speaks forth for justice and righteousness, for humility and devotion. Yet alongside there is always the element of the uncanny, the power of God's holiness which is non-rational. If one speaks of the "flaming wrath" of Isaiah's God, another speaks of God's "moral majesty"; if one speaks of the "wholly other," another speaks of the *analogia entis*; if one speaks of the miraculous, another speaks of the natural. There is no point at which the power and goodness of God may be separated. God is holy, the Holy One of Israel, the threatening and gracious one in whose presence Isaiah becomes "found" with a new purpose, though he exclaims: "Woe is me! For I am lost."

The third biblical account of visionary experience is that of Paul reported in Acts 9:3ff. Within this account itself, there seems to be a closer similarity to Moses' vision than to Isaiah's. The attractive or persuading aspect of God's appearance is absent here. Paul does not take interest in a strange kind of light and turn aside to investigate. Paul is rather overwhelmed, seized, possessed

The experience is traumatic, and only gradually will he emerge from it through the help of others. The language is all on the side of awe and terror: "light from heaven," "he fell . . . heard a voice," "Who are you: . . . I am Jesus," "Men stood speechless," "he could say nothing."

Placed in context with other accounts of the same event, and with Paul's subsequent activity, however, the vision assumes more of the character of Isaiah's experience. The effect of the seizure is moral in terms of Paul's acceptance of a mission and in terms of Paul's conception of faith and love. And even in the faith and love, there are dimensions which suggest a more-than-rational understanding of faith and love. Martin Buber speaks to the point: "He who begins with the love of God without having previously experienced the fear of God, loves an idol which he himself has made, a god whom it is easy enough to love. He does not love the real God who is, to begin with, dreadful and incomprehensible. Consequently, if he then perceives, as Job and Ivan Karamazov perceive, that God is dreadful and incomprehensible, he is terrified."⁶

Though the non-rational factors are more prominent, then, in the account of Paul's experience of God, to set this experience within the framework of his understanding of God explicated in other writings is to make possible a view of God with close similarity to that of Isaiah. To an extent C. H. Dodd would agree:

If Isaiah says, "I saw the Lord," Paul also says, "Have I not seen the Lord?" If Jeremiah says, "The Lord appeared of old unto me," Paul says, "He appeared unto me also." If Ezekiel says, "The hand of the Lord God fell upon me," Paul says, "I was arrested by Christ Jesus." Isaiah describes in strange and impressive symbolism his vision of the glory of God. Paul, more simply but not less impressively, speaks of "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

In Paul, then, it is not possible to distinguish within God elements of power and elements of morality or rational purpose. God

is God, the One who is power and who is moral. The rational and the non-rational elements are commingled in God in such a way that Paul experiences a power that is moral, a moral one who is powerful.

II. RUDOLF OTTO'S IDEA OF THE HOLY

Having glanced ever so briefly at three accounts of religious experience in the Bible, let us review Rudolf Otto's understanding of religious experience with a view to determining the adequacy of his theory of the "holy" to the biblical point of view.

Otto is a colleague of Fries, de Wette, and Troeltsch in the effort to establish the uniqueness of religious values. Kant has demonstrated to Otto's satisfaction the particularity of logical, moral and esthetic experience. The suggestion, however, that religious judgments are the work of the moral sense, the postulate of the practical reason, set Otto to work. His task is two-fold: to sever the cord between religion and science in order to preserve religion against an aggressive Darwinism and Kantianism, and to set out in what way religious experience is unique and self-authenticating, while at the same time recognizing the various forms which religions of the world have assumed.

The urge to establish the unique *a priori* nature of religious experience was prompted on one side by the Kantian subordination of religion to the moral and on the other side by the threat of the evolutionists to explain religion in terms of natural cause. *Naturalism and Religion* was written against the scientists, *Philosophy of Religion* against the Kantians. In *Naturalism and Religion*, Otto maintains that the religious view of the world does not depend upon any scientific world view for its validity. Religion does not rest upon observation and experiment, upon proofs or disproofs, in the logical and scientific sense. The effort to hold to the integrity of religion by citing proofs for the existence of God was abortive, for religion left the domain of its fructifying power to do

so, it "sold its birthright" by trying to purchase one not its own. Religion may find relevant articulation in the realm of scientific fact, but religion precedes and gives life to facts; religion does not "become alive" by the blowing of scientific fact into lungs of dust. As Otto writes:

People were far too ready to reason from finite things to infinite causes, and the validity of logical necessity of the inferences drawn was far too rarely scrutinised. And, above all, the main point was overlooked. For even if these "evidences" had succeeded better, if they had been as sufficient as they were insufficient, it is certain that religion and the religious conception of the world could never have arisen from them, but were in existence long before any such considerations had been taken into account.⁸

This is the case with all the conceptions and conclusions of the religious view of the world. No single one of them can be really proved from a study of nature, because they are much too deep to be reached by ordinary reasoning, and much too peculiar in their character and content to be discovered by any scientific consideration of nature or interpretation of the world. It is, however, at the same time obvious that all apologetic must follow religion, and can never precede it. Religion can only be awakened, never coerced.⁹

In the *Philosophy of Religion*, Otto acknowledges his indebtedness to Schleiermacher, Fries and de Wette in the task of restoring religion to its rightful place after the work of Kant. The work of Kant in establishing the logical, moral and esthetic *a priori*, through which all phenomena are known, is extended by the addition of a fourth *a priori*, the religious, which is no longer dependent upon the moral. Otto goes further, however, and maintains that the religious is the most inclusive category and that through the activity of the mind not only are phenomena reduced to experienced order, but there is a real knowledge of objective reality.

Under the concept of "Ahnung," Otto follows Fries to indicate a "feeling-response" to reality. "Ahnung" gives a knowledge of its own, yet its content is always broader than that which can be conceptualized. Faith

is a form of knowledge higher than the ordinary knowledge of phenomena. Faith is in contact with a living reality beyond phenomena. Otto quotes Fries:

True Faith, trust in God, has the same basis in all men; it gains force only with love, with the uplifting of the moral will-power in godliness, and never through a mere scientific development of the understanding. No learning, no science can bestow on a man a knowledge of God different from and superior to that knowledge which comes through the first simple religious feeling. No learning, no science can find a basis for faith: the whole duty of learning and science in the working out of a philosophy of religion is just this—to make this faith stand forth, pure and individual, before the consciousness, and to distinguish it from everything with which it can be confused, has been, and is now confused in false doctrine and superstition.¹⁰

In his own words Otto speaks of religion in its intensest form.

With this appearance of religion in intensest form it begins to be clear what is the real and actual meaning of religion as a whole: that it is no mere complement to humanity, no mere sedative, not just a means to an end beyond itself, e.g., not a mere pledge that our desire for happiness will be gratified and our moral shortcomings aided; it is a thing of itself, a gigantic thing of unmeasurable significance, which glimmers in multifarious forms in the depths of the human soul, which is everywhere astir in soft movements and gentle tremors, while in particular places it forces its way upwards and breaks forth with irresistible might. The accompanying experiences often find the strangest expression, and always in dependence on the ideas and ideals of the period. But in every case we find the feeling and the conviction that a thing has been attained on which everything else is dependent; and that all other life must lose its value when compared with it, must be regarded as "error," "ignorance," as sin and failure, and at best as a preparation and a state of transition. And with this there is present, not happiness, but salvation. . . . Where religion urges to such experiences there begins the real matter of the history of religion. And in the quest of real religion one must submit to be guided by this thread, by the deep yearning quest ("Ahnung"), by the awakening of the spiritual state and experience, which, as compared with all preceding experiences, is quite different and absolutely authoritative.¹¹

In the *Idea of the Holy*, the line of

thought followed in *Naturalism and Religion* and *Philosophy of Religion* is brought to its completion. Here attention is focused on the precise nature of the uniqueness of religious experience. Though the investigation shows that the uniqueness of religion is in the non-rational aspect of the Holy, Otto is careful to state that there is a rational element in the Holy also. In the foreword to *Idea of the Holy*, Otto writes: "In this book I have ventured to write of that which may be called 'non-rational' or 'supra-rational' in the depths of the divine nature. I do not thereby want to promote in any way the tendency of our times towards an extravagant and fantastic 'irrationalism,' but rather to join issue with it in its morbid form."¹² In the foreword to *Religious Essays*, he speaks in the same vein: "But it is just from that which is itself 'above all reason' that the eternal *ratio* and the world of rational values emerges. The rational and the non-rational moment belong together in the idea of the Holy, and if we do not recognize this fact we are led into a wholly false irrationalism."¹³

The "Holy" is the category of valuation unique to religion. It is constituted by two factors, the rational-moral and the Holy minus the rational-moral, or the *numinous*, as Otto calls it. The numinous, or the sacred, is the factor in the Holy which establishes the uniqueness of religion. It is a "primary and elemental datum," *sui generis*, irreducible to any other datum. It cannot be defined, it cannot be taught; it can only be evoked or awakened.

Schleiermacher distinguished religion by calling it the "feeling of absolute dependence." Otto regards this definition of religion as resting upon the distinction between feelings of absolute and relative dependence, and, therefore, as inadequate. Religion is different in kind from all other experiences, not simply different in degree. The essential mark of the *numen* for Otto is "creature-consciousness" or "creature-feeling." "It is

the emotion of a creature, abased and overwhelmed by its own nothingness in contrast to that which is supreme above all creatures."¹⁴

The creature-feeling is accompanied by a feeling of exaltation, of faith, trust, or salvation. The term *mysterium tremendum* is appropriate to suggest the attractiveness and the threat of God. *Tremendum* indicates awfulness, overpoweringness, energy. *Mysterium* indicates a wholly-otherness which "strikes us chill and numb" and a fascination which entrances us—bliss, beatitude.

Having separated the non-rational "moment" of the Holy from the rational "moment," Otto now moves to put them together again. This recapitulation is demanded by the biblical conception of the Holy and by the data of religious experience. Two questions emerge at this point. Is the "charging" of the numinous with rational factors an actual development in God himself, or is this a development of the potentialities of response in man? The second question involves the relation of Otto's analysis to the biblical accounts above. For the moment let us address the first question.

Otto speaks ambiguously of the union of the rational and non-rational factors in the Holy. On the one hand there are suggestions that the numinous suffers rational influences, becoming thereby the more adequate as the Holy. For example, Otto speaks of the "daemonic dread" as a crude level of the distinct and non-rational numinous. This "dread" becomes filled with rational and ethical meaning. "The numen becomes God and Deity."¹⁵ And this is the "culmination of a development which works itself out purely in the sphere of the non-rational."¹⁶ There is a parallel development of the numinous consciousness, in which the numinous consciousness attracts and appropriates meanings from the realms of justice and goodness. "More and more these ideas come to enter into the very essence of the numen and charge the term with ethical con-

tent. 'Holy' becomes 'good,' and 'good' from that very fact becomes 'holy,' 'sacrosanct'; until there results a thenceforth indissoluble synthesis of the two elements, and the final outcome is thus the fuller, more complex sense of 'holy,' in which it is at once *good and sacrosanct*.¹⁷ The suggestion in these passages is that the numen acquires morality.

Yet, on the other hand, the "ever-growing self-revelation of the divine"¹⁸ is spoken of. The moralization of the idea of God is the "completion" of the numinous. Bizarre elements of the numinous at the cruder levels are explained partially on the ground that "the numinous only unfolds its full content by slow degrees."¹⁹ "The 'crude' stage is transcended as the numen reveals 'itself' (i.e. becomes fully manifest to mind and feeling) even more strongly and fully."²⁰ Again, the "inward and necessary union" of the rational and non-rational factors is maintained.²¹ The import of these passages is that in God and in man's numinous awareness there are rational and non-rational factors in indissoluble union. These are developed together as experiences become the occasion for such. But the numen does not acquire morality, nor does the rational acquire the non-rational. These are always given together, and that religion is best which holds them together, the mystery of the numinous with the carefully reasoned elements of purpose, morality, and personality.

Though there is some ambiguity of language, Otto's basic position is seen in the latter case. The full meaning of the "holy" is the permeation of the numinous with justice and goodness, the saturation of the rational with the numinous. "We conclude, then, that not only the rational but also the non-rational elements of the complex category of 'holiness' are *a priori* elements and each in the same degree. Religion is not in vassalage either to morality or teleology, 'ethos' or 'telos', and does not draw its life from postulates: and its non-rational content has, no less than its rational, its own

independent roots in the hidden depths of the spirit itself."²²

The emphasis in *The Idea of the Holy* is upon the numinous because Otto is attempting to isolate the unique aspect of religious experience. It is certainly true that Otto places the numinous at the base of religious experience, for the numinous is the universal factor in religious experience, whereas rationalizations or moralizations become the marks of particularity. To paraphrase Tillich, it is the numinous that makes God God. Mystery is the woof, comprehension the warp of the fabric.

Yet Otto insists upon the warp and the woof. The woof, the numinous, suggests the depth and power, the *mysterium tremendum* which specifies religious experience. But the warp, the rational-moral, is always there. The holy is never without it.

By the continual living activity of its non-rational elements a religion is guarded from passing into 'rationalism.' By being steeped in and saturated with rational elements it is guarded from sinking into fanaticism or mere mysticism, or at least from persisting in these, and is qualified to become a religion for all civilized humanity. The degree in which both rational and non-rational elements are jointly present, united in healthy and lovely harmony, affords a criterion to measure the relative rank of religions.²³

III. OTTO AND THE BIBLE

It is now left us to relate Otto's understanding of religious experience to the Moses-Isaiah-Paul accounts, and to appraise Otto's accuracy from a biblical perspective. As far as he goes, Otto is a dependable guide to the biblical understanding of religious experience. Against those who would say that religious experience has nothing to do with reason, Otto speaks a corrective word about the rational-moral. Against those who say that ethics is religion, Otto speaks a corrective word about the "transcendental" grace of God. Against those who would say that religious experience is an experience related to God, Otto speaks

corrective word about God's august initiative. Against those who use the present only for eschatological anticipation, Otto repeats the ethical demands of Jesus reported in the gospels.

The rational and the non-rational elements in God and in the biblical accounts of religious experience belong together. The rational-moral element of Isaiah's experience is not the amending of God's nature by the insight of a prophet. Rather it is that Isaiah has understood and articulated more carefully the meaning of religious experience. On the other hand the prophetic and apostolic forms of religious experience are not deviations from the non-moral purity of the cultic. In these forms is seen in a peculiar clarity a rational-moral dimension even in that which in all its majesty is more than rational-moral. The acceptance of the acts of God in grateful awe is always followed by a "new life." Amos Wilder speaks in confirmation:

We are face to face with the fact that the grounding of ethics in the gospel is religious. This inseparability of religion and ethics appears nowhere more clearly than in the eschatology. Both the immanence and the ethical character of the Kingdom of God derive from the experience of God as holy. . . . The same sensitive moral and spiritual discernment that beholds with Isaiah the glory of God also recognizes the inevitability and urgency of judgment and the inevitability of salvation. To know the Father in his inconceivable glory is to know that he acts and will act to the ends of righteousness.²⁴

When Dodd says that the religious experience of the prophets was an element in a total experience of life which was rational and coherent, forming a logical unity in itself; when he says that Paul's meeting with Christ was of a piece with his total experience of life, that it was no aberration; when Dodd says these things, he speaks well for one side of the experience of God. There is a relation between the strivings of life and fulfillment, between the questions man raises

and the answers he receives. There is a relation between the ordinary events and particularly meaningful events.

But it is not sufficiently clear in Dodd that the meeting with God or Christ may, indeed, be an aberration at the moment; that in the face of holiness man does feel undone, unworthy, even illogical and incoherent. Against Dodd, Isaiah may be paraphrased: "Woe is me, for I am incoherent!" Perhaps it is as difficult for a coherent man to get into the Kingdom as for a righteous man or a wise man! At any rate one must put alongside Dodd's remarks the title of Napier, "From Faith to Faith" or the thought of Tillich, from *kairos* to *kairos*, or the emphasis of Otto, "from holiness to holiness."

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¹ Perhaps the more apt title would be: Rudolf Otto, *A Second Look*, or, better still, *The Rehabilitation of the Rational in Rudolf Otto's Idea of the Holy*.

² Dodd, C. H., *The Bible Today*, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁴ Quotations are from the Revised Standard Version.

⁵ *Interpreter's Bible*, Volume I, p. 872.

⁶ Buber, M., *Eclipse of God*, p. 37.

⁷ Dodd, C. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.

⁸ Otto, R., *Naturalism and Religion*, pp. 7-8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰ Quoted from *Handbook of the Philosophy of Religion*, p. 32, in Otto, *The Philosophy of Religion*, p. 31.

¹¹ Otto, R., *The Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 228, 229.

¹² Otto, R., *The Idea of the Holy*, p. vii.

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¹⁴ Otto, R., *The Idea of the Holy*, p. 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

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History and Present Status of Aramaic Studies

W. F. STINESPRING*

I

THE thing that must first be insisted upon is that the story of Aramaic is the most amazing in all linguistic history, at least among the so-called dead languages. The history of the Aramean people is by no means unique or even remarkable. But the history of their language is about the best illustration that could be found of the adage, "Truth is stranger than fiction." As R. A. Bowman says:

The influence of the Aramaic language has been out of all proportion to the political importance of the people who spoke it, for Aramaic soon became a cultural element at home everywhere in the ancient world.¹

The Arameans have been traced in Mesopotamia as far back as the late third millennium (before 2000 B.C.) in secular history under such names as Sutu and Akhlamu.² They appear in the Bible in the patriarchal period. Apparently the patriarchs themselves were regarded as Arameans in the biblical tradition. Abraham stops in his migration at Haran (Gen. 11:31), later known as an Aramean center. Aram is represented as a grandson of Nahor, brother of Abraham (Gen. 22:21). When Abraham wants a wife for his son Isaac, he rejects Canaanite possibilities and sends his slave to "my own land and kindred" to get a girl (Gen. 24:4). The land turns out (24:10) to be "Aram-Naharayim" (meaning the Aramean part of Upper Mesopo-

tamia), and specifically the city of Nahor, bearing the name of Abraham's brother, and located south of Haran, where Abraham formerly had dwelt. The girl turns out to be Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel, who in Gen. 25:20 is called "the Aramean of Paddan-Aram." He is also the father of "Laban the Aramean," brother of Rebekah (cf. 28:5).

The same thing transpires with regard to Jacob, son of Isaac. He cannot by the rules of endogamy marry a Hittite or Canaanite girl (Gen. 27:46 and 28:1). He is told by Isaac to "go to Paddan-Aram to the house of Bethuel . . . and take as wife . . . one of the daughters of Laban," his mother's brother (28:2). He comes up with two Aramean wives instead of one! Of Jacob himself and his migration to Egypt, Deut. 26:5 says (RSV): "A wandering Aramean was my father." The reference here is to Jacob as the eponymous ancestor of the Israelite people, hence the verse really means, "The ancestors of the Israelites were nomadic Arameans" (but contrast Gen. 10:22-24, where Aram and Eber are somewhat distantly related).

Unfortunately kinship soon turned to enmity. According to Deut. 23:4 (Heb. 23:5), Balaam was hired from Aram-Naharayim (cf. Num. 23:7) to curse Israel coming out of Egypt, though he failed in his mission. However that may be, Israel settled in Canaan and adopted the Canaanite language, later called Hebrew; whereas the Arameans, or at least some of them, moved south into what was later called Syria, becoming northern and northeastern neighbors of the Israelites or Hebrews. Since both groups were young and flourishing, a clash was inevitable.

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The first hint comes in Judg. 3:7-11, the war between Othniel and the Aramean leader Cushan-Rishathayim, represented as coming from Mesopotamia in vs. 8, but not in vs. 10 (see ASV notes). He probably came from Syria. In I Sam. 14:47 occurs the brief notice that Saul fought against Beth-Rehob and Zobah, known to be Aramean states.

By the time of David the conflict is much sharper. In II Sam. 8, David wars against the two principal Aramean states of Syria, Zobah and Damascus, and another king, Toi of Hamath, sends him tribute. In chapter 10, Hadadezer of Zobah heads up a coalition of various Arameans, including some from beyond the Euphrates, to aid the Ammonites against David, but David defeats them. Nothing is said of the Arameans of Damascus in this chapter, but by the time of Ahab they were the leading state in Syria and rivals of Israel. On the other hand, it should be noted that one of David's wives was Maacah, daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, probably an Aramean (II Sam. 3:3; 13:37), judging by his name; also that one of David's most loyal supporters was Barzillai the Gileadite, another man with an Aramaic name (II Sam. 19:31).

We learn of other Aramean kingdoms in northern Syria from extra-biblical inscriptions: Yadi (Kilamuwa inscription), Sam'al (Bar-Rakab inscription)—these two are apparently the same; and Hamath and Lu'ath (Zakir inscription).³

But the Arameans of Damascus became the strongest of these states, coming to be called in the Books of I and II Kings and in the Zakir inscription simply "Aram." We learn of certain kings such as Bar-Hadad (Heb. Ben-Hadad) I, II, III, Hadadezer, Hazael, and Rezin (or Rezon).⁴ King Asa of Judah bribed Bar-Hadad I to attack Israel, though Israel had previously been allied to Damascus (I Kings 15:18-20). Ahab fought against Bar-Hadad II, defeated him, then made an easy peace with

him (I Kings 20). Afterwards Ahab formed an alliance with Hadadezer, probably the successor of Bar-Hadad II, to hold back the Assyrians. The battle was fought at Qarqar (853 B.C.), Aram and Israel being the two strongest powers among the forces arrayed against the Assyrians.⁵ Finally, Ahab joined with Jehoshaphat of Judah in attacking Ramoth-Gilead, which was held by the Arameans. The assault was unsuccessful and Ahab was killed in the battle (I Kings 22:1-37). The pride of the Arameans is reflected in the saying of Naaman, "Are not Amana and Pharpar, the rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?" (II Kings 5:12).

Israel and Aram fought each other from time to time after this, but finally they joined together in the time of Isaiah to force Judah into an anti-Assyrian alliance. Against the advice of Isaiah (ch. 7), Ahaz of Judah called upon Tiglathpileser III for help. Damascus was taken and its king, Rezin, put to death (732 B.C.). Its inhabitants were deported to Kir (II Kings 16:9), location unknown, but somewhere in Mesopotamia, and according to Amos 9:7 it was the place from which they had come.

Of any ordinary people or culture, this would have been the end; it was the end of political power; but fourteen hundred years later the Aramaic language was still widespread and even dominant in much of what we now call the Middle East. Even today remnants remain in a few villages, and the mark left upon world culture has been incalculable. What follows can only be a sort of catalogue, lest an intolerable amount of time and space be consumed.

II

Here, then, are some of the items in Aramaic language studies since about 1880:

So-called Old Aramaic is represented by a number of inscriptions mainly from North Syria datable from the tenth to the seventh centuries B.C., i.e., during the heyday of

the Hebrew kingdoms of the Bible. Some of the better known inscriptions are: the Panammu I, Panammu II, and Bar-Rakab from Zenjirli; the two inscriptions from Nerab; the Zakir Stele; the Sujin Stele; and the Bar-Hadad (I) Inscription. At first, the difference between Old Aramaic and Canaanite (or Phoenician or Hebrew) is slight; but by the end of the period there is a very clear and sharp distinction.

The next stage is that of Official Aramaic or Imperial Aramaic (Reichsaramäisch in German). By this term is indicated the fact that Aramaic became a widespread official *lingua franca* in the Assyrian Empire, supplementing and even at times displacing Akkadian. This tendency became marked in the eighth century, at the very time when Aramean political power in Syria was collapsing.⁶ Biblical evidence for this is seen in the story of the siege of Jerusalem by the forces of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. (II Kings 18:13-37; Isa. 36:1-22). An Assyrian commander stood outside the city and taunted its people on the wall about the weakness of their position. The Judean officials requested the Assyrian to speak in Aramaic, which they said they understood and presumably the Assyrian knew; and they begged him not to speak in Judean (i.e., Hebrew), which the people gathered on the wall would understand.

Here we see, thirty years after the fall of Damascus, evidence that Aramaic was a language of international communication that educated officials would naturally know, although in this case the Assyrian commander was also fluent in Hebrew. The truth is, of course, that Aramaic-speaking peoples were scattered throughout the Assyrian Empire, and that the power and attractiveness of this amazing language tended to increase regardless of the fate of Damascus.

From the time of Tiglath-pileser III, the destroyer of Damascus, comes an ostrakon found at Nineveh bearing an Aramaic name.

From the same time comes the first of the so-called Aramaic "indorsements" or "dockets," written along the edge of cuneiform tablets to provide easy identification of the cumbersome cuneiform contents. These dockets continue all the way to Hellenistic times. Perhaps we have here the clue as to why the Jews later called the square (Aramaic) characters "Assyrian letters." "There has been recovered from Assyria a miscellaneous assortment of bronze dishes, seals, and other objects bearing Aramaic notes."⁷

An Assyrian relief of 729 B.C. shows an Aramean scribe with clay tablet and stylus; apparently records were thus kept in duplicate. We also have a military report from Babylonia, under Assyrian control, that was written in ink in Aramaic on a potsherd and sent back to Assyria.

The Assyrian invasion of Egypt in the last days of Assyria (7th century) has left us several Aramaic inscriptions from Egypt. Apparently some Egyptians also understood Aramaic.⁸

During the brief Chaldean period, Official Aramaic continued in use. Indeed, it now seems probable that the Chaldeans were really late-coming Arameans.⁹ Thus it is not strange that in the Book of Daniel the Chaldeans address their king in Aramaic. For this reason Aramaic used to be called Chaldee. We now say that Aramaic was not Chaldee, but perhaps we *can* say that Chaldee was Aramaic! From this Chaldean period we now have an Aramaic letter, probably from the king of Ashkelon to Pharaoh Necho, imploring help against the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar.¹⁰ This was indeed Official Aramaic!

The coming of the non-Semitic Persians did not destroy Aramaic. Instead, under the Persians, Aramaic attained its greatest usefulness in pre-Christian times. The Persian Empire was more far-flung than any of its predecessors, and Aramaic was the *lingua franca* throughout its vast extent. Evidence

becomes so copious that most of it cannot even be mentioned. Not only was the language widely used, but many other languages and dialects began using the Aramaic script.

Bible students are aware that during the Persian Period Aramaic displaced Hebrew as the common spoken language among the Jews of Palestine. Hebrew continued in use for liturgical and scholastic purposes, but came to be written in the Aramaic form of script, the so-called square character or Assyrian script mentioned above. The custom arose of translating the Hebrew Scriptures orally into Aramaic during divine service so that the common people could understand. Eventually these Targums, as they were called, were put into writing, giving us a new version of Scripture. It is probable that the Aramaic parts of Ezra were written during this period.¹¹

There is a mass of Aramaic material from Egypt in this period, including inscribed mummy cases, stone inscriptions, graffiti, an Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription, and a papyrus text in the Aramaic language but written in demotic Egyptian script.¹² Most famous of all are the Elephantine papyri and related documents, known to every serious Bible student.¹³

Other places where Aramaic inscriptions of the Persian period have been found include Ezion-Geber, Cilicia, Abydos (on the Hellespont), Lydia, Greece, Lycia, Tarsus, and Issus.

With the coming of the Hellenistic Age, Aramaic at last had a rival; but it did not die. A town in Babylonia struck coins bearing the name of Alexander in Aramaic. Egypt and Asia Minor in particular continue to yield Aramaic material from Hellenistic times. More and more bilingual inscriptions—Greek and Aramaic—became the fashion.¹⁴

The Jews in Palestine continued using Aramaic. The Book of Daniel is our best text, but no one doubts that other apocryptic and pseudepigraphical works, now

extant only in translations, were also composed in Aramaic. Moreover, there is no longer much doubt that this situation continued, so that Aramaic was the native language of Jesus, and thus the Christian gospel was first delivered in this remarkable language.¹⁵

I pass now to Nabatean, a sister dialect to Jewish Aramaic. The Nabateans were desert Arabs who founded a kingdom around Petra in Transjordan in the fourth century B.C. They grew in power and were friendly eastern neighbors of the Maccabees (I Mac. 5:25; 9:35; II Mac. 5:8). In New Testament times they controlled territory as far north as Damascus (II Cor. 11:32). The Romans at first could not conquer them, though Trajan finally destroyed their nation in A.D. 106. They left hundreds of Aramaic inscriptions, at least two dozen of which were written during New Testament times. A Nabatean inscription of A.D. 5 has been found in Italy.¹⁶

Another Aramaic-writing nation was Palmyra, which flourished in the Syrian desert from about 33 B.C. to A.D. 274, also destroyed by Rome. The ruins of Palmyra, like those of Petra, are still among the great show places of the world. The Palmyrenes called their nation Tadmor. Their bilingual inscriptions (in Aramaic and Greek), mostly on statuary, are among the most remarkable linguistic relics of the ancient world.¹⁷

Returning now to Jewish Aramaic, we have the Aramaic substratum of the New Testament. Apart from the translation problem, we have actual Aramaic words and phrases in the Greek text, plus a host of Aramaic names such as Bar-Jonah, Bar-Jesus, Bar-tholomew, Martha, Golgotha, *et cetera*. The Dead Sea or Qumran material of New Testament times has also yielded its quota of Aramaic.¹⁸

The Mishnah, corresponding chronologically in the Jewish tradition to the New Testament in the Christian tradition is

basically in Hebrew, attesting to the continued scholarly use of that language (and the same is true of the Dead Sea Scrolls in general), yet legal formulas of business, marriage, and the like are in Aramaic, testifying to the popular use of that language.¹⁹

But the really great literary development of Aramaic by the Jews came in the next period, that of the Amoraim, the third to the fifth centuries inclusive, when the two Talmuds, Palestinian and Babylonian, were compiled. The Talmud is so vast that it has been compared to the sea. This sea, whether one takes the Palestinian or the Babylonian one, is an Aramaic sea. All who embark thereon must be well equipped linguistically and every other way.²⁰

The Targums, already mentioned, are translations of Scripture from Hebrew into Aramaic. There are a number of these, such as Onkelos on the Pentateuch, Jonathan on the Prophets, and the Targum on the Hagio-grapha. Some of this material may be as late as the eighth century. On the other hand, the more recently discovered Palestinian Pentateuch Targum has its roots, according to Matthew Black, in the first century.²¹

Also in this category are the Midrashes (Hebrew *Midhrashim*) or commentaries, especially that on Genesis, usually called Bereshith Rabbah, which has recently been published as an Aramaic reading-book (with an excellent grammar) for students.²²

Though there is much else that might be mentioned, we must close this survey of post-biblical Jewish Aramaic by mentioning the Kabbalistic literature of the Middle Ages, an expression of a strange, mystical, theosophical movement among the Jews, which also had considerable influence on Christianity. Its chief literary creation, the Zohar, in form a commentary on the Pentateuch (c. A.D. 1300), is written partly in Aramaic and partly in Hebrew (the Midrashes and Talmuds also show this pattern), and has very recently appeared in English translation.²³

During the first millennium of the Chris-

tian Era, the Samaritans were also busy writing Aramaic. Especially noteworthy are liturgies, hymns, and the Samaritan Pentateuch Targum.²⁴

We conclude by merely calling attention to one of the most remarkable developments of all, the Christian use of Aramaic that we know under the name of the Syriac language and literature, a development lasting all the way from the second to the fourteenth centuries, and exhibiting a remarkable series of Bible translations, Church Fathers, commentaries, grammars, liturgies, and religious poems; also translations of Greek philosophical works, which were passed on to the Arabs and from them to Europe to help keep learning alive during the so-called Dark Ages. Syriac still remains in use today as a liturgical language of several of the Middle Eastern churches.²⁵

As a postscript, we should mention Mandean, the Aramaic language of the Gnostic sect of Mesopotamia, followers of John the Baptist. The earliest extant literature is from Islamic times, though the origins are much earlier.²⁶

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Aramaic Studies and the Study of the New Testament

MORTON SMITH*

OF the many dialects of Aramaic, the only ones directly relevant to the study of the New Testament are those which existed within three hundred years of the time of its composition. This obvious statement is worth making because it excludes from discussion a number of dialects about which a great deal of nonsense has been written.

Mandean, for instance, may, just possibly, contain some true historical reminiscences of hostility between John the Baptist and Jesus, and there may possibly be some early gnostic elements lurking in the vast, florid jungle of its late literature. But such elements or reminiscences can only be cited as possible confirmation of what is inferred from undoubtedly early sources. The chief contribution of Mandaean studies to New Testament criticism, therefore, is to have called forth the book of Thomas, *Le Mouvement baptiste en Palestine*,¹ which collects the ancient evidence about baptist sects. This should be required reading for anyone who intends to talk about the Essenes.

The Aramaic literature of mediaeval Judaism, especially that of the Kabbalah, is another example of irrelevant material too often used to illustrate the background of the New Testament. Here again, there may be some gnostic survivals, and there undoubtedly are certain similarities. But the review of the material by Scholem, in his *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, shows that the mediaeval work was largely original

and contained no considerable body of tradition derived from figures of New Testament times.

A third literature which can be eliminated as practically irrelevant is that of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic of the sixth century A.D. and later. Even Schulthess, its ardent advocate, claimed for it no more than grammatical and lexical relevance to the New Testament. But even that claim can hardly be granted, since the preserved works are almost entirely translations and therefore of dubious value as evidence for Aramaic syntax, while the vocabulary has been profoundly modified by Greek and Syriac.

Having disposed of these pretenders, we now come to the dialects actually relevant to New Testament studies.

First there are Nabatean and Palmyrene, which are represented almost entirely by archaeological material. The Nabatean inscriptions run from the first century B.C. to the second A.D.; they have been collected and published, along with a grammar, by Cantineau; a fuller collection is reportedly being prepared by Starcky. The Palmyrene inscriptions run from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D.; again, Cantineau has prepared a grammar, and a selection has been published by Chabot. Both the Nabateans, who controlled the trade routes to the S. and E. of Trans-Jordan, and the Palmyrenes, who controlled those to the N.E. of Damascus, were important peoples in the world of the New Testament. Their inscriptions illustrate the linguistic, political, social and religious environment from which the New Testament came and into which Christianity moved. When a Palmyrene dedicatory text begins, for instance, "I

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the god) whose name is blessed forever, the merciful, the good, the compassionate"² the parallels to Christian and Jewish conceptions are obvious.

Of far greater importance for New Testament studies is the dialect of Babylonian Jewry. Its chief monument, the Babylonian Talmud, is an immense repository of historical traditions—on the whole, amazingly reliable—about the Palestinian Jewish material which is directly relevant to the New Testament and which we shall come to later. However, in Babylonian material the student must always be alert to distinguish between sayings which report Palestinian traditions and sayings which are based only on the conjectures of the Babylonian rabbis themselves. Conditions in Babylonia differed from those in Palestine. This difference produced not only misunderstandings of Palestinian tradition, but also deliberate adaptations, even of the law, to meet the new requirements. For New Testament studies, therefore, the Babylonian material in the Talmud is an informative commentary, but not, itself, a primary source.

Yet closer to the New Testament lies the great continent of Syriac literature. To this, fortunately, there is an admirable atlas, Baumstark's history, and many texts have recently been published in the oriental palaeologies of Paris and Louvain. Nevertheless, Syriac literature has been too much neglected by New Testament scholars, especially in this country. It is particularly important for its very early translation of the Old Testament and New Testament which are essential both for textual criticism and for the earliest history of interpretation. N.E. But it is also rich in important pseudepigrapha. The Acts of Jude Thomas, for instance, are among the most interesting and earliest of the New Testament apocrypha. The great apocalypses of Baruch and IV Ezra are closest in time to the canonical Apocalypse. And most important of all are the Odes of Solomon, which, of all

known literature, stand closest to John.³ Syriac is rich, too, in translations of classical works, some of them otherwise lost, and in translations of what may be called pagan pseudepigrapha—works like the Alexander romance—which show us the popular storytelling to which some stories in the Gospels are related. But above all, Syriac is rich in works of early Christians, both saints and heretics, from which we can learn not only the history of the text and interpretation of the New Testament, but also the ways of thought and life of the early church.

Finally, of greatest importance for New Testament studies is the Palestinian Aramaic of the three centuries before and after the completion of the New Testament, roughly, from the second century B.C. to the fifth A.D. Our knowledge of this Palestinian Aramaic comes from material which can conveniently be classed under four heads: first, archaeological remains; second, the literature from the period prior to 70; third, the Samaritan material; and fourth, that of rabbinic Judaism.

Of these, the archaeological remains consist chiefly of coins and brief inscriptions, of importance for historical purposes and as evidence of popular aspirations. But the most notable evidence they furnish is that of the scarcity of Aramaic, especially by comparison with the bulk of Greek material from the same period and time. This is generally obscured by the fact that the Jewish material, of which Hebrew and Aramaic finds together make up less than half, is generally presented separately, and the pagan material, which is almost entirely Greek, is not presented at all. But once the whole corpus of Palestinian material is surveyed as a unit, then, on archaeological grounds, there is no doubt as to which language was dominant in Palestine during these centuries: it was Greek.

This is true to such an extent that Albright, trusting too hastily to the archaeological evidence, has even denied the ex-

istence of the Aramaic literary tradition⁴ represented by the second class of material, the literary remains from the period prior to 70. It is true that these remains are sparse: Daniel, the Genesis Apocryphon⁵ and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, are the only Palestinian works from this period of which we still have considerable fragments in Aramaic. But Qumran cave 1 yielded a number of scraps of Aramaic mss. other than those of the Testaments.⁶ What is more, the preserved fragments show interesting common characteristics. Note especially their fashion of telling stories about biblical heroes. This fashion is that of hellenistic romance. Nicholas of Damascus, the court philosopher of Herod the Great, wrote a romanticized history of the world, in which, for instance, he described the intrigues leading to the rise of a young Mede in the court of Sardanapallus.⁷ His description is of just the same sort as the description of the rise of Daniel. The Sarah of the Genesis Apocryphon, with her lovely whiteness, her arms goodly to look upon, her perfect hands and her long, thin fingers, is an unmistakably hellenistic heroine; and the extra-biblical developments of the amorous adventures of Joseph in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs have been shown, by detailed comparison, to come from the hellenistic literary tradition.⁸ The same tradition probably shaped the story of the battles of the patriarch Judah. So we are justified in saying that there was before 70 a romantic narrative literature about the biblical heroes. This literature was quite different in form from either the Targums or the aggadic midrashim. The midrashim, especially, grew up later, knew the earlier romances and frequently drew on them, but chopped them up into bits, to suit the midrashic conventions. Recognizing that there was a romantic tradition, we can easily see it represented in Hebrew, as well as Aramaic, works. Esther, Tobit and Judith are clear examples.

But in Aramaic this tradition was represented also by stories about heroes neither national nor biblical. Fragments of an Alexander romance, for instance, are also preserved in the midrashim.⁹ And there were other Aramaic works in other Greco-Roman literary forms produced in the same period. The Aramaic edition of Josephus' War was an example of Greco-Roman historiography. The account of Jewish schools of philosophy used by Josephus and Hippolytus seems to have been written in Aramaic and to have been a typical piece of Hellenistic ethnography.¹⁰ Matthew's Aramaic collection of Jesus' logia must have been a work of the same sort as the collection of logia used by Diogenes Laertius for his life of the philosopher Diogenes. An Aramaic original of Mk. 13 is often thought¹¹ to have circulated as a separate document; if so, it would have been "An Oracle of Jesus" like the "Potter's Oracle" on the destruction of Alexandria, or the small oracles which have now been put together in the Sibylline collection. Mk. 1-9 is probably based on a collection of Aramaic miracle stories modelled on the collections of miracles circulated as propaganda for the Asclepius cult.¹² The story of Ahikar presumably circulated in Aramaic at this time since we have both earlier and later Aramaic versions of it. Thus there is evidence, scattered and uncertain, but cumulative, for the persistence, from Ptolemaic times to the end of the first century A.D., of an Aramaic literature cast in gentile, mostly Greco-Roman forms. From the Pharisaic tradition we may add two more such works: Megillat Ta'anit written in Aramaic towards the end of the first century A.D., is strikingly similar, in form and content, to the Roman Fasti; the relationship is so close that it can hardly be accidental. The Mishnaic tractate Abot, written in Hebrew, is an unmistakable parallel to the Sayings of the Seven Sages which circulated under the name of Demetrius of Phalerum.

The fact that this early literature was

cast in gentile forms may explain why so little of it has survived. At all events, the later Aramaic literature of Palestine, from the third and fourth centuries, is relentlessly religious, and its religiosity is that of two quite definite Yahwist sects, the Samaritans and the rabbinic Judaism descended from the Pharisees. Evidently Aramaic survived in Palestine chiefly within these groups, and perhaps, within them, by deliberate reaction. The triumph of Greek in the rest of the population will account for the disappearance of the earlier profane Aramaic literature. We turn, therefore, to the later religious literature, that of the Samaritans and the Jews.

The Samaritans formed a large and important part of the population of Roman Palestine; we hear, for instance, of one revolt in which 20,000 of them were killed and 20,000 sold into slavery;¹³ and they had a long record of such revolts. They had also a considerable diaspora, especially in Egypt. Fragments of a Samaritan Greek version of the Pentateuch, and fragments of literary works by Samaritan authors writing in Greek, have come down to us.¹⁴ It is not improbable that the Samaritan diaspora, like the Jewish diaspora, played a large part in the spread of Christianity. Samaritans, scattered regularly stand near the head of Christian lists of heresies, and such important figures of the earliest Christianity as Simon Magus and Justin Martyr came from Samaritan territory. Their relations with Judaism were especially close and are reflected by innumerable references in rabbinic literature as well as by the existence of a deutero-Talmudic tractate entirely devoted to Samaritan problems. Finally, they seem to have had important connections with the Dead Sea Sect.¹⁵

In view of all this, the unstudied neglect of Samaritan material by most students of the New Testament is a scandal. The material from the fourth century or earlier includes a pseudepigraphic chronicle similar

to Jubilees, a number of prayers and liturgical poems, a commentary on the Pentateuch, and the basic elements of a targum and of a massoretic tradition (the preserved forms are undoubtedly later). Of these the chronicle, the prayers and the massoretic material are now available. The commentary has been edited only in part and that part badly, while the edition of the targum is not only unobtainable, but almost unreadable if obtained, being printed in the Samaritan alphabet. A new edition of the commentary is reportedly being prepared by Bowman. A new edition of the targum is certainly an urgent need.

Finally we come to the material from rabbinic Judaism. This is the largest representative of Palestinian Aramaic, and also the one of which the relations to the New Testament have been studied at most length. It consists of scattered sayings in the earliest rabbinic literature, of the *Megillat Ta'anit* (about which we have already spoken), of the basic tradition of the Targums (here again, the present form is late), and of the Aramaic material in the Jerusalem Talmud and the aggadic midrashim, of which the chief and earliest is *Bereshit Rabba*, a commentary on Genesis. The study of the content of this Aramaic material is necessarily associated with the study of the rabbinic Hebrew material from the second and early third centuries, so we shall mention works which deal with both. Here again, the state of the texts is not wholly satisfactory. An excellent edition of *Megillat Ta'anit* was published in the Hebrew Union College Annual, some years ago, and is now unobtainable; it should be reprinted. There is an excellent edition of *Bereshit Rabba*—and it can sometimes be found in the market! Sperber's edition of the Targums is announced for 1958 or 1959. But the standard edition of the Jerusalem Talmud is abominable.

The study of the relationship of this material to the New Testament has, in the

main, taken four lines: studies of particular concepts, commentaries on the New Testament, argument as to whether or not the Gospels were translations from the Aramaic, and speculations as to the language spoken by Jesus. The studies of concepts call for no special comment. A number of recent examples are listed at the end of this article: Dalman's *Words of Jesus*, Davies' *Paul*, Bonsirven's *Textes rabbiniques* (where the study appears in the form of extensive indices). Of the commentaries on the New Testament, the greatest is that of Strack-Billerbeck, beyond all question the foremost work in the field and a monument of industry. It takes the verses of the New Testament—often, one by one—and shows, by rabbinic parallels, the senses which the words had in rabbinic usage and the ramifications of the concepts in rabbinic thought. It is therefore an essential reference work for any serious discussion of the original meaning of the New Testament. Certain reservations must be made, however. Not even this huge collection exhausts the field; it should be supplemented by later works dealing with other aspects of the problem, for instance, Daube's *New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* and the present writer's *Tannaïtic Parallels to the Gospels*. Furthermore, Billerbeck had strong apologetic interests and these sometimes led him to misrepresent the content of Jewish or of Christian material or of both. (In *Tannaïtic Parallels* this criticism is illustrated at length in a chapter on the concept of "pay" or "reward.") In the third place, through no fault of the author's, his work leads many to overestimate the role of Jewish thought and Aramaic usage in the Gospels. The lazy student is apt to take for granted that everything which can be paralleled from Judaism is therefore exclusively Jewish. On the contrary, consultation of Strack-Billerbeck must always be balanced by consultation of the great collection of Greco-Roman

parallels to the New Testament, the invaluable edition of Wettstein.

Now for the question of translation: it is generally recognized that many of the phrases in the Gospels are virtually translations of Hebrew or Aramaic phrases. Luke's beginning of sentences with *kai egeneto* is a clear case. Now such unmistakable translations need not be the result of translating done by the author who uses them. For instance, it is generally supposed that the translating which produced *kai egeneto* was done by the authors of the LXX, and the words got into Luke's gospel as a result of his imitation of the LXX. However, if such obvious translations were frequent enough they might lead one to suppose that the author was not merely imitating previous translations, nor composing freely in a style formed by long contact with Hebrew and Aramaic, but was himself, immediately, translating, quite literally, a Semitic text. This supposition would be confirmed if there appeared in the Greek text expressions which made little or no sense in Greek, but which could be explained by word for word retroversion into normal Hebrew or Aramaic. Such obscure expressions might be happenstances, but it would be more plausible to explain them as "mistranslations."

On the other hand, the individual Gospels are not isolated texts. It is a well-established result of nineteenth century criticism that Matthew and Luke used the Greek text of Mark as a source. Further, they got many of the sayings they report from another source, Q, which was also in Greek (for the sayings are often identical, even in their use of odd expressions and rare Greek words). Finally, Matthew and Luke put together these two Greek sources (and whatever other materials they may have used) by original editorial work which they did in Greek. Thus the discovery of semitisms and "mistranslations" in Mark, John and the independent passages of Matthew and Luke

may go to support a theory of translation, but the discovery of them in Matthew and Luke where those authors are modifying either Mark or Q, works against any theory of translation. For in such places it will seem likely that these semitisms are the original work of Matthew or Luke, probably not remains of ancient textual variants, and certainly not evidence of independent translation from a Semitic source.

These facts were generally taken into account by Wellhausen, who had by far the best head of those who have dealt with this problem of translation, and his *Introduction to the . . . Gospels* and his commentaries on Matthew and Mark are still the most valuable works on the subject. Torrey, on the other hand, tried to answer objections from synoptic criticism by developing a fantastic theory of correction and collation of one translation by another. This discredited his work, and that was just as well, since the great majority of the "mistranslations" which he discovered were utterly gratuitous corrections of correct or colloquial Greek, while not a few of the rest were demonstrably wrong on Aramaic or rabbinic grounds. Burney, attempting to demonstrate the Aramaic background of John, was not involved in the synoptic problem, but much of his work was vitiated by a false theory of statistics and consequently demolished by Colwell. Some elements, undoubtedly, are still standing, but the ruins have not yet been carefully studied. Black's *Aramaic Approach to the Gospels* was evidently written in ignorance of Colwell's work, which is mentioned in a supplementary note to the second edition,¹⁶ but was evidently not used, since it refutes much of the argument of the first part of the book. Per contra, Black has taken pains to point out his large indebtedness to the work of Wensinck, who was foremost in applying the theory of translation to New Testament textual criticism and in arguing that Codex Bezae, which contains many semitisms, must therefore preserve an

earlier text, of which Vaticanus and Alexandrinus are corrections.

This leads to the question of the use of semitisms as a criterion of antiquity. The textual question we may leave to the textual critics. But as for the history of the material in the Gospels, one cannot state too strongly that semitism in content or form is no evidence whatever of relative antiquity *vis-à-vis* Greek material. Burney and Torrey and Olmstead¹⁷ and Albright¹⁸ have consistently assumed the opposite. Let us grant that the thought of John often parallels rabbinic material.¹⁹ But this rabbinic material would normally be dated from the end of the second century or even later, so the similarity to John is a reason for dating the Gospel somewhat later than might otherwise be supposed. As for the language, that continued to flourish in the area down to the time of the Arab invasion, so that even if we knew for certain that John had been originally composed in Aramaic, that would prove nothing as to whether it was composed in the first or second century A.D. The neglect of Syriac, which has already been mentioned, has resulted in a generally false picture of the history of Christianity, as moving exclusively to the West, from Aramaic-speaking Palestine to the Greek-speaking cities of the Mediterranean coast. This picture is false. At least as much Greek as Aramaic was spoken in Palestine, and the religion also spread to the East, through Aramaic-speaking territory. Therefore the movement was not from Aramaic to Greek, but both languages were represented in both the primitive and the secondary stages of the religion's development. Therefore the use of one or another in a document indicates nothing as to the document's date.

What is true of the languages in general is true in particular of linguistic forms like verse. Burney and Black have supposed that whenever they could translate a saying of Jesus into Aramaic verse they had, therefore, "the poetry of our Lord," as if only

Jesus could write verse! But sayings in oral tradition tend to be versified for mnemonic purposes, and this process usually takes time. Therefore such versification as may underlie the sayings in the gospels is most likely an indication either of pre-Christian, proverbial origin, or of rather late date.

Of course, what lies behind this use of language as a criterion of date is the false premise that Jesus can only have spoken Aramaic and the doubly false consequence that whatever is Aramaic must be close to Jesus. Fortunately, there is no need to refer to the passionate arguments about the language of Jesus which disturbed the nineteenth and earlier centuries, since an admirable statement of the case as it appeared in the 1920's was given by Dalman in the first chapter of his *Jesus-Jeshua*. Dalman recognized that Jesus was probably able to speak both Greek and Aramaic and at least to pray in Hebrew. He supposed, however, that the Greek- and Aramaic-speaking populations were rather sharply divided, because of the hostility of some rabbinic utterances to the study of Greek, and he took Jn. 12.20 ff. where the Greeks who would see Jesus go first to Philip, as proof that Jesus himself was not fluent in Greek, but had to be approached by Greeks through an intermediary, not to say an interpreter.

Let us take this point first: the story is certainly symbolic, but nevertheless may possibly be historical. Granting its historicity, it contains nothing whatever to indicate that the Greeks went to Philip because of linguistic difficulties. Indeed, it makes Jesus address to them a sermon presumably (on Dalman's presumptions!) in Greek. Moreover, if we are to use John for evidence, then 7.35, where the Jews wonder if Jesus intends to go to the diaspora and teach the Greeks, might be evidence for his capacity to do so. The evidence from the Synoptics has been ransacked again and again and yields nothing conclusive. Per-

haps the best observation on the quotation of occasional sayings in Aramaic is that the preservation of such *ipsissima verba* would be less likely had Jesus habitually spoken Aramaic; these phrases were kept untranslated, because there was no general translation of his words.²⁰ This sounds plausible, but is obviously not conclusive.

As for our picture of the general linguistic situation in Palestine, it has changed since Dalman's time in three ways: first, more thorough study of rabbinic material, capped by the discovery of the predominantly Hebrew Dead Sea documents, has made it difficult to believe that Hebrew was a language for scholarly dispute and religious exercises only. Segal, indeed, has concluded that it was "essentially a popular and colloquial dialect."²¹ Second, the continuing preponderance of Greek in the archaeological material, and especially the predominance of Greek in the necropolis of Beth Shearim, has greatly weakened the claims for the prevalence of Aramaic: Beth Shearim was for some time the seat of the rabbinic Sanhedrin; it is known from rabbinic texts as a necropolis favored by the rabbis and as the burial place of the Patriarch, Rabbi Judah, the compiler of the Mishnah. The inscriptions discovered come from the period to which the rabbinic texts refer. Of the 168 published in Frey's *Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum*, 5 are illegible, 32 are in Hebrew or Aramaic or both, 17 are in a Semitic language and Greek, and 114 are in Greek only.²² In the third place, Lieberman has shown²³ that the traditional notion of a sharp division between the Aramaic and the Greek speaking population is not justified by the rabbinic texts formerly cited to prove it, and that in point of fact much rabbinic teaching and legislation supposes that the persons taught and legislated for spoke Greek.

All this makes it seem likely that Jesus may have taught in all three languages. Such linguistic indifference is nothing extraordi-

nary in polyglot countries and certainly does not presuppose formal learning. Similarly, early Christianity may have been, from the beginning, a polyglot movement, and stories almost certainly went back and forth from Greek to Aramaic and vice versa. Therefore, even if it were proved that, for instance, our present text of Mark were a translation from the Aramaic, that would not settle the question of the origin of the material, for it would be quite possible that Mark might have used Greek sources for what he wrote in Aramaic. It may be wise, accordingly, to give up as hopeless of solution the question whether Mark and John are translations from the Aramaic. The controversy has proved that the Greek of the Gospels shows so strong an Aramaic influence that the interpreter must always consider the possibility of an expression being a virtual translation—or mistranslation—of some Aramaic expression. Therefore every proposed correction of a mistranslation must be judged on its own merits. To have merits it must:

1. Affect a text which is neither derived from the Greek Mark nor clearly editorial.
2. Explain a text which is linguistically difficult, not merely theologically repulsive.²⁴
3. Explain it by translation into plausible Aramaic or Hebrew, not some far-fetched expression.
4. Explain it by translation into Aramaic or Hebrew of which the text explained would have been a likely translation. (The attempts to explain away *epiousion* in the Lord's Prayer all shatter on the fact that the normal things they propose would never have been translated by so odd an adjective.)

Of these four requirements, the one fatal to most of the hitherto proposed changes is the requirement of genuine difficulty in the text, because it presupposes what no one ever quite acquires—full knowledge of what the authors could have said. Let us close with two examples: Torrey objected, to the story of Peter's denial, that Peter does not really deny Jesus, he merely denies knowing what his interlocutor is saying. Black took

this over as one of the clear and certain cases of misinterpretation by Mark.²⁵ But as a matter of fact, as was pointed out in *Tannaïtic Parallels*,²⁶ Peter quotes exactly the rabbinic formula for legal denial. Here, then, Torrey and Black sought to correct the Greek because it was exactly faithful to a Semitic original which they did not recognize. On the other hand, ignorance of Greek can also be dangerous. In Luke 10.21 Jesus rejoices and says, "Yea, Father (*nai, pater*), for thus was your good pleasure." To *nai, pater*, Black remarks, there are no variants in the Greek text, but Irenaeus, instead of *nai*, reads *oua*. Now in Aramaic *oua* is an exclamation of joy; therefore, Black concludes, it must have been the original reading here, and must have been misread by "the Greek source of both Matthew and Luke."²⁷ This example, he adds, "seems to me to admit of no doubt."²⁸ The assurance evidently rests on the assumption that *oua* is Aramaic, and that, as we noticed above, what is Aramaic is therefore original. But Dio Cassius has left us a charming description of Nero's return to Rome after his victory in the Olympic Games (where he fell out of his chariot in the chariot race, almost got run over, and nevertheless was adjudged victor). Returning, he arranged a great parade and rode into the city in Augustus' chariot, waving the Pythian laurel, with Diodorus the lyre-player riding beside him. And so he proceeded with his military guard through the city to the Capitol and thence to the Palatine, while all the city was hung with wreaths and lights and smoking with incense, "and while all the men, and especially the senators themselves, were shouting, '*Oua*, victor in the Olympic games! *Oua*, victor in the Pythian games! *Oua* Augustus, Augustus!'"²⁹

So much for the Aramaic origin of *oua* and the consequent antiquity of the text of Irenaeus. The detail is a trivial one, but we may draw from it a serious moral, that the Aramaic and the Greco-Roman worlds had

much more in common than is commonly supposed, and that perhaps the chief *disservice* done by Aramaic studies to New Testament criticism has been to foster the notion that Jesus and his immediate followers lived in a provincial language and a provincial world, apart from the major cultural concerns of the Greco-Roman civilization around them. This false notion has done a great deal to relax the requirement that advanced students of the new testament should be thoroughly at home in Greek and have a wide knowledge of Greek literature; and the relaxation of this requirement has done too much to obscure the intimate relationship between the New Testament and the undivided Greco-Roman Aramaic world from which it—all of it—came.

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⁸ M. Braun, *History and Romance*, Oxford, 1938, pp. 44-95.

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²⁴ The efforts of Torrey and Black to get rid of *hina* in Mk. 4.11 f. are obviously worthless apologetics; let them serve as examples of many similar attempts. See the admirable observations of D. Daube, *Concerning the Reconstruction of "The Aramaic Gospels"*, *Bull. Jn. Rylands Lib.*, 29 (1945) esp. p. 38.

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Source Analysis for Study of the Life of Christ

JAMES T. ROSS*

I

RECENTLY the writer came upon a provoking passage written by Professor Clarice Bowman in the October, 1957, issue of the *Journal of Bible and Religion*, under the caption, "Can Theologies Communicate?" In it the author says:

It is one thing to forge our thoughts into words to our own satisfaction (or at least to a tentative working arrangement). It is quite another thing to send these thoughts forth to another autonomous being. Like early bridge-builders, we thrust our timid cable across the void, almost afraid to hope that hands on the other side will catch and hold.

It is with a similar problem in mind that the present method of teaching has been wrought out in classroom experiences of the past ten years. The writer has feared that facts which are quite obvious to himself may not be so obvious to the students in his classroom. The method here presented proceeds upon the principle that the use of multiple channels of impression will strengthen the ideas presented to the students.

The writer frankly admits that he is not entitled to claim total originality for the ideas which lie back of this method. He gladly acknowledges indebtedness to many who have pioneered in the field and has sought to conserve fruitful results of their labors. If there is anything unique in this method, it is in the particular application of

the principles which have been evolved by others. To come directly to the point, it is the object of this method to recover from primary sources as good a character portrait of the real Jesus and present it as clearly and vividly as it is possible to do.

II

No attempt is made here to give a comprehensive definition of the *real Jesus* for the reason that this is the object of research through the method itself. Tentatively, however, it may be said that it is the understanding of the writer of this paper that an adequate definition would most obviously include the idea that the *real Jesus* must be Jesus as he was experienced by his more intimate and nearer contemporaries.

At this point one should say that for more than a century the search for the real Jesus has been one of the chief preoccupations for students in the New Testament field. The conclusions from this research do not show any notable degree of unanimity. In fact, two diverse schools of thought seem to have emerged. One of these is quite negative as to the possibility of a recovery of the real Jesus, while the other claims that the possibility does exist.

The negativistic school asserts that it is no longer possible, if indeed it ever was, to recover any clear character portrait of Jesus. Theologizing, mythologizing, and tendentious literature of early as well as later writers have so thoroughly obscured the picture that it is no longer clear just what kind of person Jesus of Nazareth was. In other words, it is no longer possible to separate fact from fiction. Hence, they say, there can be no real life of Jesus for our generation.

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On the other hand, those of the positive school, while quite ready to admit the difficulties, are by no means ready to abandon the effort to reconstruct the portrait of Jesus in approximately its original colors. What is needed, they say, is a further refinement of procedure. The criteria are sufficiently clear whereby we may shear away the accretions of theology, myth, and tendentiousness. Moreover, we have come to understand the function of myth more usefully than former generations and can even use it as an instrument for clarifying our picture. Also, the tendencies of the writers are now so transparent that we no longer need to be misled by them. A refinement is now possible whereby we may achieve the competence for distinguishing fact from fiction. This group would make use of grammar, philology, and geography, not to speak of the coördinations of history which archaeology now affords. It is maintained that by the use of these instruments together with an approximately original text of the gospels, the recovery of the real Jesus is no longer beset by insuperable difficulties.

It seems to the present writer that there are dangers of oversimplification by both schools. If, on the one hand, the negativistic school insists that in order to gain a clear portrait of Jesus we must have the materials from which to construct biography on a modern basis, it should be conceded that we are doomed to failure. But, if the object is to recover a character portrait of Jesus, we will not be too far removed from the intentions of the authors of our gospels. Our task, therefore, will be far from hopeless.

If, on the other hand, the positive group means only to recover a historical figure, it is quite possible that it may ignore an important dimension of the life of Jesus, at least as the nearer contemporaries of Jesus thought of him, for to many of them Jesus seemed far more than a historical figure; there was a supra-historical reality which they felt in him. This fact may explain the

mythologizing in the gospels, for it is one of the main functions of myth to explain data for which our common categories are far from adequate.

It seems to me, then, that we have a task here which calls for a use of the primary sources by a combination of historical and psychological methods and above all an empathy of a very sensitive kind. Without this combination one may well believe that our portrait of Jesus will continue to be truncated and fragmentary. It is the object of our method to lay the foundation for such achievement.

III

In order to present the method in its true setting it seems necessary to make a superficial survey of the gospel data. Specifically, we need to reexamine them to get a preliminary view of the literary character of the gospels. It will then be our task to supplement and clarify the facts which emerge from this survey. We use for this purpose *the Harmony of the Gospels* by Stevens and Burton.

Our approach assumes the essential correctness of the two-document hypothesis which, when combined with the better assured results of *Formgeschichte*, seems to give a rather adequate picture of the literary situation. To be sure, one must allow for independent sources in addition to those of the Fourth Gospel, even in Mark (unless his additions are purely editorial). And I must now add that one must not dismiss the possibility that the Fourth Gospel may have some valuable insights, both historical and supra-historical. We believe that it is essential to consider the emergent traditions as well as the two documents and the Fourth Gospel. This we endeavor to achieve in the survey. Our survey produces the following categories with subdivisions presently to be noted: 1. The common traditions including the Fourth Gospel; 2. The common traditions of the Synoptics; 3. The individual

traditions of the several gospels. The more detailed facts are as follows:

1. *The Traditions Including the Fourth Gospel.* Of these there are three varieties: a. The Common Tradition of the Four Gospels. The arrangement of Burton and Stevens shows that there are fourteen of this kind, distributed as follows: (1) four which relate to events before Passion Week; (2) ten which concern events of the Passion and Resurrection periods. b. The Tradition of Matthew-Mark-John, distributed as two pericopae before and none during Passion and Resurrection. c. One Common Pericope of Mark-Luke-John. An interesting observation is that the Fourth Gospel never has a common pericope with the Synoptics which does not include Mark. This raises some interesting possibilities. Can one credit Matthew and Luke with historicity when they parallel Mark and at the same time deny historicity to the Fourth Gospel when it likewise parallels Mark and often another gospel in addition? Or is its use in the Fourth Gospel of such a character as to forbid the historicity of the Fourth Gospel. There are, of course, arguments on both sides, but it would seem the counsel of prudence not to deny the historicity in too cavalier fashion. It should always be remembered that the chronology of Passion Week is far more consistent in the Fourth than in the Synoptic Gospels.

2. *The Traditions of the Synoptics.* These are of four varieties: a. The Common Tradition of The Three Synoptics, distributed as follows: (1) Thirty three before Passion Week, and (2) seven during Passion and Resurrection. b. Matthew-Mark distributed as follows: (1) eight before Passion Week, and (2) three for Passion and Resurrection. c. Mark-Luke, none before and only two for Passion and Resurrection. d. Matthew-Luke, consisting of six (logia) before Passion Week but none during. Thus within the Synoptics we have either four different kinds of selection from

the two documents or four separate strands of tradition (or both).

3. *The Individual Traditions of the Several Gospels.* a. Matthew has a total of six pericopae distributed as follows: (1) three childhood stories; (2) one before Passion Week, and (3) two for Passion and Resurrection. b. Mark has one before and none for Passion and Resurrection. c. Luke has a total of thirty one, distributed as follows: (1) nine for the childhood stories; (2) twenty two before and (3) none for Passion and Resurrection, though at least one pericope (Emmaus Journey) has so little from Mark that Luke is practically independent of Mark. d. The Fourth Gospel has a total of twenty nine pericopae distributed as: (1) twenty two before and (2) seven during Passion and Resurrection.

IV

As close reflection will reveal, the foregoing data only meagerly represent the facts. One now must add that such copious analysis as that of Wilhelm Bussman in his three volumes of *Synoptische Studien* has the same failing even if not to the same degree. There are many items in the pericopae summarized above and in Bussman's *Studien* containing themes or nuances of meaning which are not adequately organized for direct study. Also there are themes which are not adequately represented in the parallel columns of a harmony. Our proposal for handling these problems is the method which I now present.

We shall begin by stating that the individual traditions are left without underscoring. The themes not contained in parallel columns are indicated by mutual cross reference in the margins of the harmony. Not for the parallel source material. For the common tradition of the four gospels or for the synoptics alone we underscore the common elements in red. Parallels between Matthew-Mark-John are underscored in blue, and the same color is used for Matthew

Mark alone. The parallels for Matthew-Luke-John are underscored in black and the same color is used for Matthew-Luke alone.

For comparison of the Fourth Gospel with individual synoptics the scheme is as follows: (1) with Matthew, double lines of red and black; (2) with Mark, double lines of red and blue; (3) with Luke, double lines of red and green. The immediate advantage of this scheme is that the simple interrelations and the minute sources are at once obvious. All of this work must be done verse by verse. We might observe that when the meaning of the analysis has been thoroughly explained along with a few sessions of exemplification, most students perform the operation with ease, interest, and pleasure.

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The Worship of "Most Primitive" Christianity

ALLEN CABANISS*

FROM the score of years intervening between the crucifixion and the writing of the earlier Pauline letters there is extant no literary datum concerning the life, thought, and work of the church. Whatever may once have been recorded no longer exists. The very earliest extant source of such information is the Apostle's correspondence with the Galatians, Thessalonians, and Corinthians (that is, so-called II Corinthians). From statements, inferences, allusions, even silences, in them, however, it is possible and proper to adduce testimony respecting the organization, creed, code, and cult of the "most primitive" Christianity, remembering always to employ the material cautiously. To deal even superficially with all of those topics would require many pages. Polity, doctrine, and ethics have often been treated extensively and perhaps adequately. Hence it is my purpose here to limit consideration to evidence of cultus, but it is inevitable that the other subjects be involved in the discussion (as indeed they are in actual life). It is my intention nonetheless to permit reference to them only as they are related to liturgical expression.

By the time St. Paul wrote, and no doubt much earlier, the church was already a highly complex institution. Parts of it, at least, had leaders called "pillars" (Gal. 2:9) and a clear division of labor (Gal. 2:7-9), as well as certain "minor orders" (in particular, one called "catechist"), members of which received pay for their services (Gal. 6:6). There were "apostles" and their assistants (I Thess. 3:2), as well as "prophets" (I Thess. 5:20) and "readers" (I Thess. 5:27). A distinction between "clergy"

and "laity" was thus made obvious, the clergy having not only the duty of ministering but also the responsibility of governing and admonishing (I Thess. 5:12). The layfolk were urged to esteem and love their clergy and to keep in harmony and unity with them (I Thess. 5:12, Greek). Above all, the "brethren" were to abhor "undisciplined wanderers" who might lead them astray (II Thess. 3:6, if Pauline). So well organized indeed was the church that canonical censures could be imposed (II Thess. 3:14 f.) and later (after due process) lifted (II Cor. 2:6 f.). But most striking note of all is that within the two brief decades following the crucifixion the church was already being characterized as the "bride of Christ" (II Cor. 11:2), as a "second Eve" (II Cor. 11:3), and as God's "true Jewry" (Gal. 6:16; cf. 4:28, Phil. 3:3, Col. 3:12).

Perhaps the last-mentioned description suggests a reason for such rapid development. The "earliest" church was predominantly Jewish, certainly in Palestine, but also in Asia Minor and in Europe, so much so that the great Apostle felt constrained to speak severely against continuance of some Hebraic practices (Gal. 2). At the same time, however, he commended the Judean church to the European church as a model (I Thess. 2:14). St. Paul himself is an illustration of the persistent impact of Judaism, notably in the employment of midrashic allegory (Gal. 4:22-30). In view therefore of the rather elaborate polity and remembering the importance of the Jewish background, one will not be too surprised to find that worship was far from plain. As a matter of fact, most of the references given above might well have been cited as evidence of liturgical development.

One of the first things to note about the

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"most primitive" church was its use of an ecclesiastical Kalendar, presumably the old Jewish agricultural or liturgical calendar. The Galatian church, for example, was observing special days and months, special seasons and years (Gal. 4:10). Although St. Paul's statement is ambiguous, it is probable that he intended to convey disapproval, but that interpretation is by no means assured. It appears that the Apostle himself may have adhered to many of the liturgical aspects of Judaism, such as Pasch (I Cor. 5:7), Omer (I Cor. 15:20), Shabuoth (I Cor. 16:8), and possibly Succoth (II Cor. 4:6, 17 f.). It is quite certain that, conceding the aptness of some calendrical observances—new moons, sabbaths, and others—as being shadows of things to come, the substance of which was the Lord Himself, he bade his converts to allow no one to judge them in that respect (Col. 2:16 f.). It is in his writings that there occurs the first allusion to Christ's birth, a cryptic passage which is placed within an unusually appropriate setting referring to the time and the circumstances (Gal. 4:4). For that reason one might almost suppose it to imply some kind of Nativity observance.¹

In addition to liturgical arrangement ("array") and ecclesiastical Kalendar, St. Paul also attests some of the ceremonial acts of worship. The "holy kiss" or kiss of peace, which was an expressive demonstration of the fellowship of believers, was important enough to be four times mentioned by him (I Thess. 5:26; II Cor. 13:12; I Cor. 16:20; Rom. 16:16). This feature has persisted over the centuries since then and continues today in an attenuated form. It is possible that he intimates the use of incense a half-century before it is referred to in the Apocalypse (II Cor. 2:14-16; cf. Rev. 8:8). Triumphant display is suggested (II Cor. 2:14) as well as "splendor" (note the repetition of the word in I Cor. 3:7-11) and the sense of mystery (II Cor. 4:3 f.), all of which tended to induce ecstatic con-

ditions (II Cor. 3:18; 4:6, 17 f.; cf. Gal. 6:14) and even the possibility of the Stigmata long before St. Francis of Assisi (Gal. 6:17;² cf. II Cor. 4:10). But speculation staggers at the vista opened by the Apostle's enigmatic remark that before the very eyes (not ears) of the Galatians, Christ had been "depicted" or "portrayed" (not proclaimed) as the Crucified One (Gal. 3:1).³ Does he mean that "most primitive" churchmen actually had representations of the crucifixion or that in some manner the death of Christ was dramatized in their presence? Or, just as strikingly, does he thus allude to the Eucharistic or other church service? The words of this passage are strangely emphatic and surely do not refer merely to the spoken word however colorful and evocative it might have been. In any case it begs the question to dismiss the Pauline language as simply rhetorical or metaphorical.

Looking more closely at elements which comprise liturgy in the narrower sense, one finds the earliest testimony to use of the Lord's Prayer in worship in a passage that seems to describe all prayer as "saying aloud, 'Abba,' that is, the [Our] Father" (Gal. 4:6; cf. Rom. 8:15).⁴ There is also, as noted above, public reading of the Apostle's letters in the assembly (I Thess. 5:27), as well as some form of mutual prayer and of solemn blessing (I Thess. 1:1; 5:25, 28; Gal. 1:3-5; 6:18; II Thess. 1:2; 3:18; II Cor. 1:3, and especially 13:14). A single verse (II Cor. 1:20, "For however many [or, however great] God's promises are, in Him [Christ] is their affirmation; wherefore also 'through Him' the Amen [is spoken] by us to God in respect of glory") reveals, first, the solemn congregational utterance of Amen in the service; second, the formula, "through Jesus Christ," as a fixed ending of prayer; and, third, the quite Jewish characterization of true prayer as chiefly a glorifying or "blessing" of God. The remarkable verses immediately following (II Cor. 1:21 f., "The One Who is strengthening us

with you unto Christ and Who has anointed us is God, Who is also the One Who has marked [sealed] us and has given the 'pledge' of the Spirit in our hearts") seem to allude to the seal [*sphragis*] of Baptism, the chrism of Confirmation, and the grace of the Eucharist. The intimations of Baptism-Confirmation are fairly obvious; the allusion to the Eucharist appears to be established by a further reference in the same letter where the Apostle assures his readers that to prepare them for immortality God gave them a spiritual "guarantee" (II Cor. 5:5). Not long afterwards perhaps, St. Paul varied the designation from "guarantee" to "first fruits" of the Spirit which a believer has while awaiting redemption of the body (Rom. 8:23). Still later by several decades an enthusiastic Paulinist apparently understood these passages in a Eucharistic sense when he characterized the "pledge" of the Holy Spirit as a "token" of an inheritance not yet received in its fullness (Eph. 1:13 f.). In any event the last step of this progressive interpretation was reached by St. Ignatius of Antioch, who within a few years of the publication of the *corpus Paulinum* penned his well-known description of the Eucharist as "a drug of immortality, an antidote against dying."⁵

What has been presented thus far is derived from those letters of St. Paul which are reputed to be the earliest. It is evident that liturgical usage in the earliest Christianity was not plain and unadorned, but quite rich. A glance at those letters which are deemed later will only ratify that conclusion. Some of these passages have been already cited, but a few additional ones may be permitted.

At the outset attention should be directed to an indication that a particular day of the week, the first or Sunday, was a special day of observance in the church (I Cor. 16:2). What its precise significance was is ambiguous. The suggestions respecting organization are somewhat clearer. The distinction

between major and minor "orders" is confirmed and in addition to apostles and prophets the order of "doctor" (rabbi?) and other offices is noted (I Cor. 12:28-30; Rom. 12:4-8). The clergy are also identified as "bishops" and "deacons" (Phil. 1:1), and in one instance as sacrificial, sacerdotal ministrants (Rom. 15:16). Deference to the clergy is enjoined (I Cor. 16:16). This ordering of the church into various ranks was necessary to maintain peace, unity, and stability in the Christian *ecclesia*. The partisan spirit was rife and it had to be quelled (I Cor. 1:12; Phil. 1:15-18). Regulation was one method. Another was discipline, including the solemn procedure of excommunication and anathema (I Cor. 5:4 f., 13; 16:22).

In respect of ceremonial the language of mystery, awe, and drama was heightened (e.g., I Cor. 2:8; Col. 1:26; 2:16). Angels were said to be present at the worship of the liturgical assembly (I Cor. 11:10) and unworthy participation in the Eucharist was said to have resulted in illness, debility, and even death (I Cor. 11:30). The service bore some resemblance to a great sacrificial occasion either among the Jews or among the Levantine pagans (Rom. 15:16; I Cor. 10:21). Baptism was a miraculous occurrence like the crossing of the Red Sea and the Eucharist was a supernatural food like that supplied to the Israelites in the wilderness (I Cor. 10:1-4). So tremendous indeed was the effect of Baptism that it was administered and received vicariously on behalf of persons long dead (I Cor. 15:29). In fact, Baptism was a mysterious participation in Christ's atoning death and resurrection (Rom. 6:3-11).

If St. Paul was representative, the "most primitive" church was profoundly concerned about the *minutiae* of its liturgy, about its *schema* and *taxis*, its appropriate rationale and orderly array (I Cor. 14:40). At one point the Apostle suggests a sequence of elements in the non-sacramental

part of the service: proclamation of the Word (reading and preaching), affirmation of belief, and prayer (Rom. 10:14 f.). Something like a "creed" or catechetical exposition of the faith is presented (I Cor. 15:3-8) and a ceremonial expression of affirmation (bowing) is recorded (Phil. 2:10 f.).⁶ Prayer is described as primarily *eulogia* and *eucharistia*, "blessing" and "thanksgiving," to which the congregation replies with the allusive Amen (I Cor. 14:16). A traditional prayer in Aramaic is mentioned and was probably used in that language (I Cor. 16:22; Phil. 4:6). A feature, not mentioned earlier, was the employment of music, that is, psalmody, hymnody, and other compositions, at intervals of the service (Col. 3:16). The Eucharistic portion of the liturgy is given in some detail with reference to the elements (the cup of wine and loaf of bread), to the words of distribution, and to the fraction and communication (I Cor. 10:16 f.; 11:23-26).

A final matter, also not mentioned in the earlier letters, is the fact that the liturgical assembly met in private homes (Rom. 16:5; Col. 4:15; Philemon 2). This practice, of course, suggests that the "most primitive" Christian service was very intimate, that only a small number (perhaps less than forty or fifty) participated in it at a given time, that each person had a distinct part to perform, and that the sense of participation was very impressive.

Even so brief a summary should serve to dispose of the loose talk too often heard that early Christian worship was informal and colorless. The material here presented may be systematized in a series of propositions:

(1) The "most primitive" church (or liturgical assembly), characterized as the "Bride of Christ," "second Eve," God's true Israel, an immediate, lawful, and natural offspring of Judaism, was divided into two "orders," clergy and laity. The clergy

was composed of "pillars," apostles and their assistants, prophets, bishops, deacons, "priests," catechists, doctors, and presumably others. The laity was simply designated as the "brethren."

(2) The "most primitive" church was empowered to impose both censure and absolution therefrom.

(3) The "most primitive" church had an ecclesiastical Kalendar consisting of special days (sabbaths), months (new moons), seasons, and years, specifically Pasch, Omer, Shabuoth, Succoth, Christmas (?), Sunday (and consequently Easter?).

(4) In its worship the "most primitive" church employed splendor, mystery, portrayal (pictures? drama?), awe, pageantry.

(5) In its worship (Baptism-Confirmation, Eucharist) the "most primitive" church made use of reading, affirmation, mutual prayer and blessing, a formulaic ending for its prayers, the Lord's Prayer, the congregational Amen, singing.

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⁵ Ignatius, *Ephesians*, xx, 2.

⁶ Cf. I Cor. 12:3 and elsewhere for the context of worship.

General Note. Let me clarify a point which may be misunderstood. I am quite well aware, as all who read should be, that I am pressing words for all they are worth. I know that there are alternative interpretations, but I am concerned only to present my own. Let the reader therefore be ever mindful of the proverb, "Caveat emptor."

Book Reviews

A NEED FULFILLED

Understanding the New Testament. By HOWARD CLARK KEE and FRANKLIN W. YOUNG. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957. 492 pages. \$7.95.

The appearance of this book and of its companion volume on the OT (B. W. Anderson, *Understanding the OT*, 1957) has been hailed joyfully by college teachers of religion across the country. For several decades no adequate introductory college texts in the biblical field have been available.

The preparation of these volumes was initiated by the Committee on Projects and Research of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education. The authors, all teaching in the biblical field at the seminary level, have carried out the intent of the National Council magnificently.

Understanding the NT is a very comprehensive work. Most of the major aspects of modern NT scholarship are caught up in it: introduction, history, archaeology, geography and topography, *religionsgeschichte*, theology. The whole early Christian movement passes before the reader's eyes, not as a spectator but as a participant would see it. The major interest of the writers lies in the faith of the primitive community. The writings of the NT are seen not as "isolated literary products . . . but as records of the living faith that gave rise to the Christian church" (p. 4).

The outline of the book reveals clearly the approach: "The Community Emerges," "The Community Expands," "The Community Matures." The church is seen as a community called together by Jesus. It rallied around and passed along the basic convictions enunciated by him: that he had

come to inaugurate the Kingdom of God through preaching, sacrificial service, death, and resurrection; that the new Israel, drawn together by his redemptive ministry and death, would shortly inherit the ultimate Kingdom of God; that its task in the interim was to preach the gospel and gather in the sons of the Kingdom. While differing theological emphases are recognized as having existed in various parts of the NT church, the writers insist that the essential elements of the *kerygma* of Jesus are preserved in the *kerygma* of early Christian preachers as a whole.

Jesus is said to have thought of himself as the Son of Man and Suffering Servant, as suggested by T. W. Manson. The authors deny Enochic influence on the mind of Jesus, affirming rather Danielic.

In critical matters middle-of-the-road positions are taken. The standard solution of the synoptic problem is adopted. Acts is regarded as a good, though not infallible source. It is used constantly in constructing the historical framework and beliefs of the early NT period. Ephesians and the Pastorals are said to be post-Pauline. However, they are regarded as "closely allied with the thought of Paul and his mode of interpreting the Christian faith" (p. 67). The problems of miracles, the resurrection of Jesus, the Parousia, and the like, are treated from the standpoint of biblical rather than rationalistic assumptions. It is held throughout that the NT faith can be understood only from the inside. Complete objectivity is more possible for modern interpreters than for NT writers.

The book is lavishly and effectively illustrated. Captions break up the text into comprehensible units. A chronological chart and

bibliographies round out the whole. The format and printing are a delight.

Some weaknesses of the book may be mentioned briefly. Only limited use is made of the Qumran discoveries. The treatment of the Fourth Gospel and of the organizational structure of the NT church, for example, would have been improved by effective use of the new data. Alternative points of view in controversial areas should have been presented more frequently, at least in footnotes. The need for suggestions stimulating and directing study of the biblical text by the student is hardly met by the brief footnotes at the head of chapters calling attention to relevant NT readings. The long descriptive summaries of biblical books offered in the text will in fact discourage the student from grappling at firsthand with the primary materials. The skillful teacher will not allow the NT text to be pushed aside, but many will succumb to what is probably the chief weakness in biblical teaching in our time—preoccupation with books *about* the Bible rather than directed studies *in* the Bible.

But the book is much too fine to spend time in further fault-finding. The "bravo" across the country speaks for itself!

EDWARD P. BLAIR

Garrett Biblical Institute

MORE ABOUT THE SCROLLS

The Scrolls and the New Testament. Edited by KRISTER STENDAHL. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. ix + 308 pages. \$4.00.

Since the Qumran Scrolls began to be discovered a decade ago, students have become increasingly aware of their revolutionary significance for New Testament research. It is true that they are not revolutionary in the sense intended by A. Dupont-Sommer and John Allegro, and that they do not provide any real comfort for partisans of "pre-Chris-

tian Christianity." But they are more important for "New Testament science" than any hitherto recognized ancillary discipline such as Greek papyrology, Rabbinic literature, archaeology in the strict sense, or even textual criticism of the Greek New Testament. In some ways they are more important than all these aids put together. Their revolutionary character can no longer be denied by any New Testament scholars except those who deliberately close their eyes.

Professor Stendahl of Harvard has had the happy idea of bringing together in one volume an anthology of the best papers which have hitherto appeared in the field covered by the title. In view of the fact that the subject is still so controversial and that only a tiny fraction of the total material discovered in Qumran Caves I-XV has yet been published, it would be impossible to find a better way of exhibiting the research potential involved. Stendahl has shown astonishing catholicity in his selections, which include seven Protestants, four Catholics and one Jew, seven scholars teaching in this country and five teaching on the Continent. Eight of the papers were originally published in English, six in German. It is a pity that no French papers were included; the best would probably be (for the purposes of this volume) Father Daniélou's brilliant essay, "La communauté de Qumran et l'organisation de l'Eglise ancienne" (*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 1955, pp. 104 f.).

In this reviewer's opinion the three best essays in the volume are those written by K. G. Kuhn, professor of New Testament at Heidelberg. Unlike most professional students of New Testament, Kuhn was recognized for his competence in Hebrew and Aramaic (especially in Rabbinics) before the discovery of the first Qumran scrolls, and he penetrated at once into the heart of the problem. He is the only scholar who has contributed more than one essay to the volume, and several more studies of his might well have been included. The republished studies are

entitled: "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel," "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran," and "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament"; all have been revised, one substantially. From the standpoint of method these essays are superb, and this reviewer does not believe that they can be materially improved without a considerable increase in our source material. The student cannot do better than to begin by reading Stendahl's introductory essay and continuing through Kuhn's chapters before he tackles the remaining essays.

All of these essays are challenging and rewarding. Oscar Cullmann discusses "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity"; the reviewer feels that Cullmann would have been more successful if he could have divested himself of previous views, such as his association of the Gospel of John with the "Hellenists" of Acts, since the Essene parallels in Johannine literature are totally un-Hellenic. W. H. Brownlee's treatment of "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls" is rather daring, but is refreshing in its complete freedom from the shibboleths of recent historical criticism. Father Vogt's convincing translation of the well-known words in Luke 2:14 as "Peace among Men of God's Good Pleasure" is followed by a very original paper from the pen of the Catholic Rabbinic scholar of Vienna, Kurt Schubert, on "The Sermon on the Mount and the Qumran Texts." At present he finds it necessary to deal with probabilities and possibilities rather than with absolute parallels as so often in Johannine literature, but it is certain that the material will swell considerably as more texts are published. Sherman E. Johnson's excellent paper on "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline and the Jerusalem Church of Acts" was a pioneer study when it appeared in 1954; it can already be expanded considerably. Bo Reicke (formerly professor at Uppsala, now at Basel) was one

of the very first Continental scholars to plunge into the Qumran material; his study of "The Constitution of the Primitive Church in the Light of Jewish Documents" is very interesting for its background and purpose, though a number of reservations are called for. W. D. Davies of Princeton University (known for his admirable book on *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*) gives a penetrating analysis of "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," which adds materially to our understanding of the cross-currents between sectarian Judaism and early Christianity. Two of the reviewer's students have contributed excellent surveys of "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles" (Father Raymond Brown, S.S., now a member of the Scroll team in Jerusalem) and "The Qumran Scrolls, the Ebionites, and Their Literature" (Father Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., on the Scroll team for the past year). Finally we have a pioneer paper on "Hillel the Elder in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls" by Nahum N. Glatzer, which is an earnest of much more to come.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

*Jewish Theological Seminary
of America*

The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Living Church

By CARL G. HOWIE. Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1958. 128 pages. \$2.50.

The paronomasia in the title is indicative of the fresh and interesting approach which Dr. Howie uses. The title also points to the important task to which he has set himself: the evaluation of the effect of the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea literature upon the Christian faith. It is unfortunate that the books which introduced these documents to the general public in Europe and America were not written in this same constructive spirit. The central core of the book compares the sectarians and Christianity on the points of worship, polity, philosophical outlook, religious belief and the life and work

of the respective founders. Each of these chapters has its summary and the final chapter recapitulates the entire discussion. There is appended a comprehensive bibliography of the major works which have appeared so far in English.

Howie finds that "direct influence was limited to the matters of the sacraments, the orientation for prayer and building, and the light-darkness motif." He feels that John the Baptist, the author of John's Gospel and Paul (?) had some direct contact with the Qumran group. Other similarities such as the approach to an erring brother, the resemblances in the personalities of Jesus and the Teacher of Righteousness (whom he does not attempt to identify historically), withdrawal from the world, the holding of property in common, he regards as merely indirect or coincidental. There was of course a common Jewish background. Some of the more important differences between Christianity and Qumran are also pointed out although the list is admittedly not comprehensive.

I would certainly agree with Howie's major thesis. I would question however the direct contacts which he posits. Certainly liturgical orientation is much earlier than the time of Qumran. Christian baptism is indebted to the initiatory Jewish proselyte baptism rather than to the repetitive lustrations at Qumran. Does not the form of the Christian Lord's Supper come more naturally out of the ordinary Jewish *haburah* meal rather than being necessarily derived from the Qumran observance? Dr. Howie does not always seem to distinguish between the Qumran faith and practice, that of Essenism in general and the overall Jewish background. The early Christians may have been directly dependent upon Qumran. We can not prove it. The Qumran scrolls are very important, however, as they throw light upon the century in which Christianity was born. In spite of these minor points upon which there may well be differences of opinion, Howie has

Contemporary Trends in Christology

Norman Pittenger on the meaning of Christ for the Christian faith; Martin Rist on the Christology of the various New Testament books; Robert E. Cushman on the Christology of John Knox; Cyril C. Richardson on the development of the "orthodox" doctrine in early church history and its formulation at the Council of Chalcedon—these are the featured articles in the symposium "Contemporary Trends in Christology" in the Fall issue of *RELIGION IN LIFE*.

Other equally stimulating articles have been contributed by Nels F. S. Ferré, Reinhold Niebuhr, Frederick E. Maser, Morton S. Enslin, S. MacLean Gilmour, and others—plus reviews of current books.

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written a book which will be both informative and helpful for the laity.

CORWIN C. ROACH

Divinity School of Kenyon College

THE BIBLE

The Holy Bible from Ancient Eastern Manuscripts, Containing the Old and New Testaments Translated from the Peshitta, The Authorized Bible of the Church of the East. By GEORGE M. LAMSA. Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Company, 1957. xix + 1243 pages. \$12.50.

This translation, in modified KJV phraseology, is hardly a significant monument in the history of Bible translations. The uninformed reader who cannot check the translation against the "original" Syriac might have been more impressed had the author omitted his Introduction. Despite a superficial flavor of learning, the Introduction contains numerous scholarly absurdities. The publishers' readers should have caught the author's error in affirming that the style of Shakespeare, who died in 1616, could not have been what it was without the beauty of the King James Version. The author credits the Assyrians, who invented neither the alphabet nor the cuneiform script, which was not alphabetic, with the invention of the alphabet. Among his many incredible assumptions is that Aramaic was the language of the Patriarchs, that the word "Hebrew" has an Aramaic etymology, that such names as Manasseh, Ephraim, Bar-Nun (sic!), and Miriam are of Aramaic origin, that the Gospels and Epistles were originally written in Aramaic, that Jesus and his disciples never heard Greek spoken, that the Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk (in Hebrew!) proves that "Aramaic has been in use from earliest times to the present day," and that "all the Peshitta texts in Aramaic agree."

The author avoids the commonly accepted term Syriac to designate the language of the Peshitta, intent on minimizing the differences

between Western and Eastern Aramaic. He ignores the fact that the Syriac text did not and could not have originated in Palestine, for it is different from the Palestinian Aramaic now much better known to us from the Qumran scrolls (although not from the Commentary on Habakkuk!). Contrary to Lamsa, the word "Peshitta" does not mean "the original," but rather the simple, common, popular version; it is parallel in meaning to "Vulgate" (Latin *vulgata*, common, public). At times Lamsa seems to presume that the translators of the English Bible used a Syriac text from which to translate (see the section "Words Resembling One Another"), and even to presume the chronological priority of the Syriac texts over the Hebrew O.T. text. His suggestion that in Isa. 14:12 the "Aramaic" *ailēl*, to howl, is confused with the Hebrew *helel*, light, is too absurd to deserve comment.

The translation itself leaves much to be desired, despite the recommendations of such persons as Norman Vincent Peale and Daniel Poling, who hardly qualify as experts in Syriac. One outstanding biblical scholar who is at home in the field has found more than 60 incorrect renderings in three chapters, arbitrarily chosen. The reviewer has spot-checked the translation against the Urmia text of the Peshitta. It would appear that Lamsa, in using the KJV as his literary pattern, at times follows the KJV to the extent that he renders not the Syriac but the Hebrew. For instance, in Ps. 90:9 KJV reads: "For all our days are passed away in thy wrath: we spend our years as a tale *that is told*." Lamsa reads: "For all our days are passed away in thy wrath; we spend our years in emptiness." By contrast, the Urmia edition of the Peshitta is to be translated: "For all our days are spent (*gmruw*) in thy wrath, and our years are spent (*gmruw*) as a whisper." Unlike the Peshitta, the Hebrew text uses two different verbs and the second is first person plural, as reflected in the KJV rendering. The reviewer has not checked

Codex Ambrosianus, but Lamsa argues the agreement of the Peshitta texts. Note also Amos 8:8, KJV "and every one mourn that dwelleth therein," Lamsa "and every one mourn who dwells in it," but the Urmia Peshitta "and all its inhabitants shall sit in mourning." In the same verse the Peshitta reads "its end," but Lamsa "the end." In Hos. 7:5 Lamsa reads: "The day they start to give counsel, the princes begin . . .," but the reviewer finds in the Urmia Peshitta "The day of our kings, the princes begin. . . ."

These examples are sufficient to indicate that the translation is not trustworthy as an indication of variants between the Hebrew text and any "original" text in Syriac. Of course Lamsa's translation does more often than not reflect such variants, but the reader cannot be sure in any particular instance that it does so. Above all the reader should be warned against the impression given by Lamsa that this translation, or even the Syriac texts on which it is based, necessarily gets him closer to the original form of the biblical text. Particularly in the light of recent manuscript discoveries, the Hebrew and Greek texts are our primary sources. Despite their value, the Syriac texts, Lamsa's "Aramaic" texts, are only secondary sources.

HERBERT G. MAY

Oberlin Graduate School of Theology

Biblical Research. By The Chicago Society of Biblical Research. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1957. Vol. I, 47 pages. Vol. II, 44 pages. \$1.25 each.

The Society of Biblical Research, which was organized in 1891, has included, and still includes, some of America's most distinguished scholars. All of these papers are of excellent quality. Vol. I contains a paper by Reginald H. Fuller on "The Virgin Birth: Historical Fact or Kerygmatic Truth?," 7 pages, and an article by Ralph Marcus on

"The Qumran Scrolls and Early Judaism," 39 pages.

Fuller concludes that the time has now passed for arguments over whether the Virgin Birth occurred or could occur, and that its true meaning is to be seen in the *kerygma*. Like the doctrine of the pre-existence, the Virgin Birth should be regarded as an affirmation of the invasive character of the Christ-event, which took place within a particular history; and that it expresses the idea of the "eschatological marriage between Yahweh and his people," with Mary as the representation of her people.

Marcus finds that Jewish Gnosticism antedates the Christian era; the covenanters were Essenes; they were Gnosticizing Pharisees; their Gnosticism influenced Christian, Jewish and Pagan Gnosticism.

Vol. II contains papers by Charles F. Kraft on "Poetic Structure in the Qumran Thanksgiving Psalms"; Paul E. Davies on "Did Jesus Die as a Martyr-Prophet?"; Ernest W. Saunders on "Theophylact of Bulgaria as Writer and Biblical Interpreter."

Kraft thinks that the Qumran psalms, written not long after the latest OT psalms, give us firsthand insight into poetry of the period, throwing light on Hebrew poetry in general and on the poetic elements of the NT. He notes parallelism, but one which may be natural rather than conscious artistry.

Davies writes a penetrating study of the attitude of Jesus toward his mission and approaching death. He thinks that Jesus derived his designation of himself as Son of Man mainly from Ezekiel, with possibly some influence from Daniel; that the accepted view that true prophets inevitably became martyrs was important in his sense of approaching death; that the execution of John was decisive; and that his predictions of his death have an authentic sound.

Saunders finds that in his exegetical writings Theophylact, like other theologians of the Byzantine period, was verbose and rhetorical, based on compilations, but that his

letters and addresses show more originality; that he uses much allegory; is a defender of orthodoxy; and that his commentaries are largely dependent on Chrysostom.

S. VERNON McCASLAND

University of Virginia

The Witnessing Community: The Biblical Record of God's Purpose. By SUZANNE DE DIETRICH. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958. 180 pages. \$3.75.

This book represents a revised edition of a series of lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, in 1955. Suzanne de Dietrich, who for eighteen years was resident lecturer on Bible Study in the Ecumenical Institute of the World Council of Churches at Bossey, Switzerland, was Union's first visiting professor on a new program.

The sub-title describes well the book's scope. Miss de Dietrich seeks to trace God's plan in building a community, His people, beginning with the opening chapters of Genesis and going on through Revelation. Her contention is that modern man is the most lonely of all creatures, but that all through biblical history God has been working "to show the world what true community means: a fellowship of free persons bound to one another by a common calling and a common service" (p. 13). The first human pair in history make up the first community; but almost at once the relationship is broken because of a will to autonomy against the Creator. An outline of biblical theology follows, involving election, covenant, assimilation versus separation, the prophetic view of history, the remnant, and the Messianic community. The author closes with a ringing challenge to the church today to avoid the evils of either conformity or isolation, and to be a witnessing group in Christ which the world will recognize as the true community.

The strength of the book is in its many deep insights into the biblical account. Here

is biblical theology which reveals ageless meanings for humanity. "Every crisis in history is seen here as a call to repentance, a warning" (p. 107). This reviewer has noted reference after reference in which Miss de Dietrich puts her finger on the permanent meaning of biblical events. One closes the book with a sense of the greatness and the mercy of a God who gives so much to His people while at the same time He demands so much from them.

On the other hand there are minor statements that mar the effect. The statement (p. 27) that the early Hebrews "contributed little to the general culture of the ancient world" overlooks that great section, 2 Sam. 9-20, that so far as we know was something quite new in the literary world. Then, too, some references to etymology are faulty. Also, isn't God's appearance ever described in the Bible (p. 56); what about the end of Ezekiel 1? Jesus does come in for some attention, even if it is very scanty, in Roman records (p. 134). Isn't the time factor in the return of Christ more than "secondary" (p. 146)?

The danger inherent here is in making the biblical text more or less on one level, although it is explicitly said, and evidenced, that the results of biblical criticism are recognized. Nevertheless passages are utilized without much attention to provenance. It is hard to understand the denial of much theological significance to the possibility that the hopeful closing verses of Amos may be by a later hand. And one is troubled by the indiscriminate use of the sources in the account of the founding of the monarchy.

Nevertheless the reader finds here real stimulation to a deeper study of the Bible record, to the raising of deep questions about life; and the dominant impression is most wholesome, that "God's People must stand with both feet on the ground, in the everyday 'here and now' assigned to them by their particular calling" (p. 179). God's saving purpose is being offered, at least for the pres-

ent, to mankind, and the church is the witnessing community.

JOHN H. SCAMMON

Andover Newton Theological School

Prophetic Faith in Isaiah. By SHELDON H. BLANK. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. 241 pages. \$3.75.

This is a small book only in size; in content it is large and extremely rewarding. The author's contributions to the Book of Isaiah are well known; several of them have been included in this volume. He writes in an admirably lucid style, and the discussion reveals independence of judgment, sanity, and warm religious appreciation. It glows with light throughout.

The first chapter gives us a general discussion of the Book of Isaiah, its component parts and their characteristic features. The contrasts between Isaiah and his prophetic successors are sharply drawn. A special section is devoted to the treatment of Isaiah 7, which Blank believes to be composite: vss. 1-16 a legend, vss. 17-25, a prophecy from Isaiah himself. It is idle to speculate over the identity of Immanuel; all that is important is that he is given a pleasant name. The name originally reflected the false hopes of the people; the optimistic interpretation belongs to a later time. The name of the prophet's son, Shear Yashub, portends judgment and disaster; nothing of hope is suggested here. An illuminating chapter is devoted to "The Meanings of Faith" and contains helpful linguistic observations.

If the reader will not find himself in accord with some of the conclusions concerning Isaiah, he will probably respond more affirmatively to what Blank has to say about the rest of the book. He speaks of the tremendous influence of Second Isaiah. "A great deal of thinking that is familiar to us as 'Judaism' is contained in his pages" (p. 51); one should add that the influence upon the New Testament was even greater. The dis-

cussion of "monotheism" is fresh and stimulating and is expressed in the proper terms. The significance of past history, prophetic preaching, and the relation of prediction to fulfillment are well described; similarly the great asseveration "I am God" is given its appropriate emphasis and interpretation. The treatment of the Servant of the Lord deserves careful reading, for it is obviously the result of long pondering. Blank takes no account of recent studies on the word *bemataru* of Isa. 53:9, but he accepts the LXX reading of 53:11, "he shall see light" (cf. also the two Qumran scrolls). One of the best sections of the book is the author's discussion of the influence of Ezekiel on Second Isaiah. The chapter on the mission of Israel is of special interest. The reader will be especially grateful for the recognition of the importance of Third Isaiah; it is not often that the thought of this section of the book is given its due.

Sheldon Blank has written a book that is both scholarly and stirring; it stands in the tradition of the best scholarship of the past, and it makes absorbing reading.

JAMES MUILENBURG

Union Theological Seminary

Out of the Whirlwind. By WILLIAM B. WARD. Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1958. 123 pages. \$2.50.

This small volume presents the contents of the book of Job in thought and language that can be understood by anyone. For one who does not care to delve deeply into the critical problems, either historical or textual, but who desires to grasp the message of the book of Job, this volume will be quite helpful.

After setting forth the nature of Job's calamity as presented in the prologue and the background of the book, the author introduces and characterizes the "three friends" who came to comfort Job. The longest chapter contains the development of the arguments offered by the three friends and the replies of Job. Some rearrangements are

suggested in the third cycle of speeches to include a third speech for Zophar. Many modern commentators agree to this inclusion, but there is lack of agreement as to what is the third speech of Zophar.

The treatment of the speeches of Elihu is far more generous than usual. The author presents the arrogant attitude of Elihu, but he also classifies and discusses the contributions he really makes.

Out of the whirlwind Jehovah speaks, revealing his real nature and his functions in his universe. Job's greatest help came when he realized that God was great enough to handle his calamity if, by faith, he trusted him.

The author skillfully shows the anticipations of later beliefs found in New Testament revelation. He correctly states that these are only gleams out of darkness, and he does not try to read fuller and later revelation back into the contents of the book of Job. Furthermore, he indicates that there are "two great lacks in the book of Job," a knowledge of the meaning of the Cross in relation to suffering and an understanding of the vindication of the righteous in the life to come.

An excellent and helpful work!

ROBERT T. DANIEL

*Southeastern Baptist
Theological Seminary*

Introducing New Testament Theology. By ARCHIBALD M. HUNTER. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957. 180 pages. \$2.50.

This book is, as the author states in his preface, a companion volume to his earlier *Introduction to the New Testament*, now revised and enlarged. It also fits the pattern of other books beamed toward the "ordinary minister and interested layman" such as *Interpreting Paul's Gospel* and *Interpreting the New Testament, 1900-1950*.

Written in a lucid, personal style, with many an acute observation and apt turn of

phrase, this volume rather adequately achieves what it sets out to do, namely, that of dealing with the salient issues of the New Testament and discussing its principal theologians in a helpful introductory fashion.

Part One, on "The Fact of Christ," deals discerningly with the Synoptic Gospels, with particular emphasis on the Kingdom of God and the resurrection. Part Two, one chapter in length, deals quite satisfactorily with the first twenty years following the resurrection, the pre-Pauline period when the major factors were the *kerygma*, the reinterpretation of the meaning of Christ, the work of the Holy Spirit, the emerging church and eschatology. Part Three, or about half the book, then considers "The Interpreters of the Fact," namely the thought of "St. Paul," "St. Peter," the Author of Hebrews, and "St. John."

By definition of his task, Professor Hunter does not undertake to deal with all possible areas of New Testament theology nor give an exhaustive treatment of any one area. The basic questions are whether or not he has chosen the best topics to treat, has stressed the most important aspects of these topics, has correctly interpreted them and then has successfully communicated these interpretations to his reading public.

1. As to choice of topics, it can be said that the general outline of the book holds together rather well and the order of topics mentioned above is well-taken. Among the "Interpreters of the Fact," the choice of Paul, the Author of Hebrews and the Johannine writer is both obvious and good. A question might be raised, however, about the place of "St. Peter" among these. This chapter, the shortest in the book, confines itself to the First Epistle of Peter and is troubled with the problem of authorship and of the influence of Pauline thought. The summary is valuable as a report on the epistle but not entirely convincing as an analysis of a distinct strand of New Testament theology. On this basis, the author of Jude and the

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By WILLEM A. VISSER 'T HOOFT. A compelling, informative study of the great Dutch artist, and why the author considers him the only truly biblical painter in the entire world. Illustrated, including a double-page spread of the famous Hundred Guilder Print. Publication date: Nov. 3. \$4.50

THE WESTMINSTER PRESS, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.



later re-worker, the author of Second Peter, the authors of James, Ephesians (if not by Paul) and the Pastorals might have been included. A more serious defect, in the opinion of this reviewer, is the omission of the thought-patterns of the most voluminous writer of the New Testament, the author of Luke-Acts, and of the authors of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. The synoptics are used only in connection with the first two chapters on the Fact of Christ and Acts only for the chapter on the first preachers. Are not Mark, Matthew and Luke-Acts actually theologically-motivated accounts whose views of God, Christ and man could be placed along with those of the authors of epistles?

2. A serious omission among the doctrines discussed is the Incarnation. The problem of the person of Christ is discussed, but neither in the Index of Topics nor in the text itself is the doctrine of the Incarnation dealt with.

3. So far as correct interpretation is concerned, the book is judicious and reliable. On the matter of communication only a minor question could be raised. The style is vivid and, at times sparkling, but some words, like "jeune," "irrefragable," "illapse," and "ineluctable" may give the average American reader some difficulty.

The book is, in spite of some shortcomings, a valuable addition to our collection of popularizations and should fill a real need at the college or survey level of New Testament studies.

CHALMER E. FAW

Bethany Biblical Seminary

Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead? (The Witness of the New Testament.) By OSCAR CULLMANN. New York: Macmillan, 1958. 60 pages. \$1.00.

This small book contains the Ingersoll Lectures on the Immortality of Man, delivered at Harvard in April, 1955. "No other publication of mine," says the author in his preface, "has provoked such enthusiasm or

such violent hostility." He continues: "If we were to ask an ordinary Christian today . . . what he conceived to be the New Testament teaching concerning the fate of man after death, with few exceptions we should get the answer: 'The immortality of the soul.' Yet this widely-accepted idea is one of the greatest misunderstandings of Christianity. . . . The concept of death and resurrection is anchored in the Christ-event . . . and hence is incompatible with the Greek belief in immortality; because it is based in *Heilsgeschichte* it is offensive to modern thought."

Cullmann presents the "radical differences" between the two views indicated in his title: contrast between the deaths of Socrates and Jesus; different concepts of creation; dissimilar anthropologies; the Genesis and New Testament connexion between death and sin, as against the idea that death is "natural, willed by God."

To Socrates death was a "friend" that liberates the soul from the evil body; he "goes to his death in complete peace and composure." Jesus, contrariwise, "shared the natural human fear of death" as an "enemy." "He underwent death in all its horror, not only in His body, but also in His soul . . . by betaking Himself to the sphere of 'nothingness.'" This would betoken complete annihilation, dying body *and* soul, so that "a new divine creation is necessary" for resurrection. "The soul is not immortal . . . there must be resurrection for both" (body and soul), for "since the Fall the whole man is 'sown corruptible.'" Limitations of space forbid enlarging upon all points of his argument.

In the last chapter, "Those Who Sleep," Cullmann considers the "interim condition" of the dead. Here he dismisses the earlier concept of "total death," requiring a new creation of both body and soul. Here he asserts that "for the time after Easter" the "inner man, stripped of its fleshly body, but still deprived of the spiritual body, exists with the Holy Spirit" . . . "the dead Christ-

tian has the Holy Spirit" . . . "it is the result of a divine intervention from the outside, through the Holy Spirit, who must already have quickened the inner man in earthly life by His miraculous power."

Cullmann admits here, and in a few other points of contact, a "kind of *approximation* to the Greek teaching" (survival of the immortal soul) . . . "to the extent that the inner man has already been transformed by the Spirit"; but he says, "the distinction remains none the less radical," and "it is still true that the resurrection of the body is awaited. . . ."

The significance of the book is that in it a leading exponent of biblical theology presents what he finds to be the New Testament view of the "fate of man after death." The book is well fortified by biblical references, but some readers will sense a disturbing literalism in some of Cullmann's uses of the Bible, citing various parts of Scripture without much, if any (at times), regard to the diversities of time, thought level or context of the materials.

Haverford College

JOHN W. FLIGHT

Jesus and His Coming. By JOHN A. T. ROBINSON. New York: Abingdon Press, 1957. 192 pages. \$4.00.

This small book makes a distinct contribution to an area of Christian doctrine which has received renewed attention in contemporary church and academic circles. It is well written, and its arguments are close and carefully conceived. The New Testament scholar, in particular, will find this book instructive and stimulating.

The order of development is as follows: (1) The expectation of the early church; (2) the expectation of Jesus; (3) the relation of the expectation of Jesus to that of the church both historically and theologically; (4) an assessment of the conclusion which emerges from the New Testament "for its hope and for ours."

Perhaps the most significant factor pointed out by Robinson regarding the thought of the early church is that "no evidence is to be found that the *Parousia* expectation formed part of the earliest strata of Apostolic Christianity" (pp. 28-29). While not overstressing the importance of the argument from silence, Robinson feels that the silence of the sources in this connection is not entirely fortuitous. In line with this thinking he concludes that "the more apocalyptic the material in Thessalonians the less claim it has to represent primitive tradition and *vice versa*" (p. 117).

With regard to Jesus' own expectation, Robinson rejects the notion that Jesus shared the expectation of a return in glory which the church ascribed to him. Jesus indeed possessed a hope for the future, but it was in terms of his vindication when "through and out of his present sufferings, God would inaugurate his kingdom in power" (pp. 57-58). "But what fails is the evidence that Jesus thought of the messianic act as taking place in two stages, the first of which was now shortly to be accomplished, the second of which would follow after an interval . . ." (p. 81).

The transition from the thinking of Jesus to that of the church is the same as that which occurred in the Old Testament: the transition from the eschatology of the prophets to that of the apocalyptic writers. "The eschatological language of Jesus is increasingly referred not to the historical crisis and climax of his ministry, but to a point beyond it, and to certain highly mythological occurrences expected after a gradually lengthening interval" (p. 98).

The problem of a study such as this is that of the gospels as sources. There is no easy answer to the question: What sayings represent Jesus' views as distinct from the views of the church? Yet Robinson finds Mark 8:38b, "when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels," to be a development of the church over the thought of

Jesus. It is indeed possible to ascribe the entire verse to Jesus and yet not refer the antecedent "Son of man" to the second coming of Jesus. But this alternative is not discussed.

In spite of the limitations inherent in the area of study, the book is one with which every serious student of the New Testament should be acquainted.

ERIC L. TITUS

*Southern California School
of Theology*

Christ and the Christian. By NELS F. S. FERRÉ. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. 253 pages. \$3.75.

Professor Ferré attempts to avoid the objectivism of orthodoxy and the subjectivism of the Schleiermacherian approach in Christology by beginning with the revelatory event, "Jesus Christ." Such a beginning, while including the Bible (and history) and experience, proceeds from neither *as such*. It proceeds from God's act of revelation in Jesus Christ.

Some, however, will question Ferré's statement that the place to begin is "with Christ as *Agape*," for this seems already a step beyond the central dynamic of the revelatory event summed up by the phrase "Jesus Christ." Ferré thus takes as his theological absolute not only "Jesus Christ," but "Jesus Christ interpreted as *Agape*." Presumably, *Agape* is a concept, a subjective interpretation of the meaning of the Christ-event. Does Ferré mean to imply that his *Agape* concept is as free from the acids of historical relativism as the divine working in the Christ-event? To be sure, the Christ-event "must be subjectively entertained, grasped, 'had,' and understood (p. 68)." And the faith thus engendered "provides a condition for seeing" (p. 70). But is not the subjective receiving in revelation still in the field of the finite and relative? Should a human concept, even if engendered by revelation, be posited as absolute? It would have been helpful if our

author had distinguished more clearly between revelation as *event* and revelation as *interpretation*.

A similar question arises in reference to Ferré's statement regarding the intellectual significance of the unique presence of God in Jesus. "Never before," he writes, "was God as *Agape*, the personal Spirit who is holy Love, fully understood . . ." (p. 218). It is not clear whether this "full understanding" is here being asserted of Christians or of Jesus. But in either case, the implication of man's "full understanding" of God as Love is contestable.

The soteriological significance of Jesus lies in the fact that in and through him God inaugurated the new humanity. With Jesus we get "a new class, a new level of life, or a new age of human history . . ." (p. 75). Ferré stresses the radicalness of this novelty. The fullness of measure of *Agape* in Christ becomes a uniqueness of type, "a whole new species, a whole new creation . . . wherein the personality is actually the Godman . . ." (p. 133). So understood, the Incarnation is "the original fact of man's true history (p. 138)," "a new creation in history" (p. 84), a new *Agape*-centered type of human existence (p. 106).

Ferré feels that there is little value for Christology in categories drawn from ancient substance philosophy. Such philosophy implies that "Godhood and manhood are qualitatively distinct, separated by an unbridgeable gulf" (p. 126). More light can come, he feels, by using categories drawn from modern process philosophy, and beyond this, from the personal and spiritual dimensions of reality, which must qualify organismic philosophy by recognizing the height dimension of personal transcendence.

One wonders, however, whether the substance philosophy is not expressed by the fact that Ferré still clings to the two-nature doctrine (p. 91), and by his statement that "God and man are qualitatively distinct, eternally and radically, nevertheless they come to-

gether in the Godman and Godmen" (p. 78). Since Ferré conceives of God essentially as *Agape*, one wonders what this statement means. Apparently man, as well as God, has the capacity for an "*Agape-centered life*" (p. 106). *Agape* "can be shed abroad in men's hearts by the Spirit" (p. 137), fulfilling and transforming *eros* as the fullness of time. If this is possible and, through the Christ-event, actual, what then does it mean to say that "God and man are *qualitatively* distinct, eternally and *radically*?"

Opposing Tillich's trans-personal ontology, Ferré develops an explanation of the Incarnation in terms of the idea of Spirit as the ultimate nature of God. The essence of Spirit lies in its creativity to bring community into being, to create the other, "to transcend self by creative society and communication" (p. 130). The Incarnation is possible because "the very nature of Spirit is to co-inhere." Created by Spirit, human life can only reach fulfillment in this divine co-inherence. Only in this interaction of the divine-human community is human destiny attainable, "but only in Jesus Christ did this ultimate nature of truth come to conclusive clarity and to consummate enactment" (p. 132).

The motif of Ferré's view of atonement lies in the emphasis on the divine action for us, the coming, paying, suffering God of *Agape*, who entered our humanity in Jesus Christ, assumed the burden and guilt of our sin in order that our own nature might be fulfilled "by God's presence, purpose and power" (p. 185).

Ferré insists on using the traditional terms "substitution," "vicarious," "in our stead," but not to mean placating God's anger, nor satisfying the Devil, for it is God himself who "does the sacrificing for us" (p. 183). It is somehow a sacrifice "whereby the functional tension at the very heart of God, because of man's sin, is capable of being removed" (p. 169). One wishes that this crucial point in Ferré's view of atonement had been more clearly explicated. *How*,

in what manner does the suffering of God enable Him to overcome this tension? To be sure, law cannot be by-passed, since there is an ultimate seriousness about sin, and therefore the law "can be abolished as a demand over against us only by being fulfilled" (p. 147). But *how* is this ultimate demand of God's holiness *fulfilled* by His own self-sacrifice for us? Ferré's thought seems not altogether clear at this point.

The two concluding chapters deal with "Christ and the Christian" and "Christ as Creator and Consumator." They are as stimulating and illuminating as the earlier portions of the book. One wonders why the author made the title of the book the same as that of one of the chapters. But this book deserves wide and careful reading. It is a significant contribution to modern thought about Jesus Christ.

RALPH G. WILBURN

The College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

The Johannine Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary. By HARRY MERWYN BUCK, JR. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. viii + 83 pages. \$2.00.

It is twenty-five years since the appearance of the Colwell-Riddle *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*, which inaugurated the series of *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the New Testament*. Since that time four additional studies have now been published, of different sections of the lectionary. Dr. Buck expresses the hope, implicit in the plan of this series, that "when all portions of the lectionary have been studied, it will be possible to reconstruct with some certainty the history. . . ." Certainly this is greatly to be desired, and yet one may feel that such a reconstruction is not easily derived from these separate units of research. Possibly the "lectionary school" at Chicago, under the able leadership of Allen Wikgren, may be able to provide a

synthesis and an insight into the origins of the primitive Greek lectionary.

Buck approves the suggestion of the Lakes that the lectionary had monastic beginnings, perhaps in the fourth century. A correlative suggestion would relate to the influence of Basil who was instrumental in transplanting the primitive monasticism of Egypt to Capadocia, and giving it an organization, a discipline, and a system.

Not the least in interest and importance in this study is the further demonstration of the "Caesarean" character of the early lectionary. Another conclusion of importance is that lectionary texts appear in considerable variety, rather than constituting a single, homogeneous tradition. And again, we are properly reminded of the relationship between textual studies and the theological concerns that are reflected in the lectionary tradition.

The careful textual analysis reported here is another evidence of the recognition, especially in the United States, that lectionary studies are likely to play an important part in the current probing to discover a truer textual history than we have known.

KENNETH W. CLARK

Duke University

L'Évangile de Jean: Études et Problèmes, by M. É. BOISMARD, F. M. BRAUN, et al. Bruges and Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958. 258 pages. 1,800 F.

The eighth Journées Bibliques met at Louvain in 1957 under the presidency of F. M. Braun, O.P., of the Swiss University of Fribourg, and this volume is the record of twelve papers read and discussed at its sessions.

Under the title "From Bultmann to Barrett," Philippe Menoud of Neuchâtel reviews the literature of the last decade on the Gospel of John and appends a full bibliography. Although problems of date, composition, relationship to the Synoptics, and original

language remain unsolved, there has been a sharp reaction from Bultmann's hypotheses, and discoveries at Qumran have opened up a new and exciting chapter in Johannine studies. M. É. Boismard of L'Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem believes that a case can still be made for the hypothesis that the Fourth Gospel is a translation from the Aramaic. Victor Martin of Geneva contributes a note on the great second century Bodmer Papyrus. M. l'abbé H. Van den Bussche of Louvain makes a number of interesting suggestions concerning the structure of John 1-12. J. Giblet, also of Louvain, discusses "Jesus and 'The Father' in the Fourth Gospel." W. Grossouw of Nimegen contributes an article on "The Glorification of Christ in the Fourth Gospel." C. Cerfaux of Louvain maintains that the so-called "Johannine Logion" of Mt. 11:25-30 (Lk. 10:21-22) is firmly anchored in the Synoptic tradition, reproduces the words of Jesus, and demonstrates that the Fourth Gospel in its Christology (as in other respects) preserves and develops theological emphases already latent in the earliest Christian message. I. de la Potterie of Louvain, taking I Jo. 3:6-9 as his point of departure, discusses the Johannine doctrine of "The Sinlessness of the Christian," maintaining that it is to be understood in the light of John's conception of eschatology as already realized in Christ and of Christ as indwelling in the believer. The Evangelist's mysticism is involved in, and issues out of, his eschatology. The president of the colloquium and the editor of the book, F. M. Braun, contributes an article on "The Background of the Fourth Gospel." John's Gospel reflects primitive Christian tradition and has much in common with the south-Palestinian Judaism represented by the writings of the Qumran Covenanters, but this does not rule out the possibility that the Evangelist had also some contact with Hermetic and Philonic Hellenism. G. Quispel of Utrecht discusses "The Gospel of John and Gnosticism." The Dead Sea Scrolls have helped us

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This an important book in its own right. It should also be required reading for those who are unaware of the freedom exercised by Roman Catholic biblical scholars within the confines of archepiscopal orthodoxy.

S. MACLEAN GILMOUR

Andover Newton Theological School

The Seven Letters. By HUGH MARTIN. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958. 123 pages. \$2.25.

The Seven Letters are the letters to the churches in Revelation 2-3. After four introductory chapters devoted to John and his prophecy, the crisis of emperor-worship, the vision on Patmos, and the structure of the letters, Mr. Martin discusses each of the letters in a separate chapter and ends his book with a twelfth chapter entitled "The Epilogue: Christ at the Door."

The author writes on this subject because the letters "proclaim picturesquely and forcefully truths of living and eternal validity for the church today and in every age, and for the individual Christian" (p. 9). He is offering a practical exposition of the first three chapters of Revelation, but an exposition

based on a careful study of the meaning of the chapters for the original author and the churches he addressed.

He has made his own translation of the text into "modern, idiomatic English, though without concealing the grammatical awkwardness of many passages in the original Greek" (p. 7). "I became dead" (1:18) may serve as an illustration of such awkwardness retained in English; it is a more literal rendering of the Greek than the usual "I died" or "I was dead." Familiarity, apparently, made him retain "to sup with him" in 3:20 in spite of its unidiomatic character.

The author follows the generally accepted critical dating of Revelation in the reign of Domitian and recognizes as its dominant theme the conflict between emperor-worship and the Christian's exclusive loyalty to Christ. Because Domitian fostered the imperial cult and insisted on being called "lord and god" Christians could be condemned if they refused such recognition. For Mr. Martin this means that "from the year 95 . . . the very fact of being a Christian became a crime punishable by death" (p. 11). This does not seem to follow. Unfortunately we are reduced to speculation here, but the evidence that Christianity was illegal and the profession of Christianity a punishable offense does not antedate the reign of Trajan. Is it not more likely that the publication of Revelation itself provoked that emperor or the senate to issue such a decree? (Cf. R. M. Grant, *The Sword and the Cross*, pp. 58 ff., and M. Rist, *Interpreter's Bible*, XII:355.)

The author believes that John was personally acquainted with the churches, that his vision on Patmos was a real vision, and that the letters were real letters. He recognizes that the letters form a literary unity and therefore suggests that together they constitute a "General Epistle from the Living Christ to His Church: written down by his servant John," and that the whole corpus was circulated to all the churches. This view leads him to an unusual interpretation of

the angels of the churches. Instead of viewing them as heavenly guardians or representatives he believes that they are the ministers of the actual earthly congregations.

The Seven Letters is a well-written, soundly based exposition of Revelation 1-3, the kind of book we have learned to expect from Hugh Martin.

B. LEROY BURKHART

Cedar Crest College

CHURCH HISTORY

Luther in Protestantism Today. By MERLE WILLIAM BOYER. New York: Association Press, 1958. 188 pages. \$3.50.

This book is an attempt to popularize the principles in the Reformation that centered around Luther and to show that those principles are vitally germane to Christianity today. The author performs his task well. Dr. Boyer takes the chapter titles from phrases in Luther's "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God." In the first half of the book he sketches the basic Reformation principles about the nature of man, justification by faith, the Word, the priesthood of all believers, Christian vocation, and the church. He weaves these principles into the web of sixteenth century history, and then proceeds to show what they meant in Luther's time and why they are still relevant.

A significant chapter, though necessarily brief, is the one in which Dr. Boyer discusses Protestantism in relation to education, politics, economics, the family and the common life. He singles out the basic points and presents them with clarity and forcefulness. Particularly incisive is his depiction of Melancthon's role in Protestant education. The author believes that Melancthon saved the Reformation from exclusiveness and obscurantism, and opened the door for the fruitful development of pietism and idealism. Also impressive is the chapter devoted to the church. The author recognizes the medieval limitations in Luther's outlook, and he does not avoid the state-church development, but

he demonstrates the continuing points of strength: rediscovery of the New Testament view of the church, sacrificial suffering rather than priestly obedience, unity from within, dynamic life, ability to adjust to changing situations, authority without the burden of infallibility, and faith in the living Word. He treats the relativity of the Protestant churches briefly and clearly. "The churches of the Reformation tradition cannot affirm an infallibility which by their very nature they do not claim to possess." By witnessing, the church can set forth guides for decision and action. "These guides, however, are not fixed absolutes in the sense of the Roman Catholic pronouncements. They are expressions of Christ in the midst of situations where the Word cannot result in clear and unequivocal pronouncements because of the sins of men, including the sins of the church itself."

The churches are under judgment and the kingdom may not remain with us, says the author, but the sceptics and the lost adherents should seriously probe the depths of the Protestant tradition before they embrace Roman Catholicism, Communism, or Nothing. That the Protestant tradition is not always relevant is due to the fact that Christian laity and clergy have not plumbed the depths of Protestantism.

Of course, the details are not here; the author does not propose to enter into a minute discussion. Rather he gives the broad sweep, based on wide knowledge, and such interpretation is refreshing to encounter.

CLYDE L. MANSCHRECK

Duke University

Jonathan Edwards the Preacher. By RALPH G. TURNBULL. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958. 154 pages + appendix. \$3.95.

Popular opinion about Jonathan Edwards has kept him well confined within the strictures of misinterpretation. Even as his theological forefather, John Calvin, calls to

mind moral austerity and the burning of Servetus, so the name of Edwards summons up gruesome visions of "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." Mr. Turnbull joins forces with those who wish to set eminent figures of history free from the erroneous and exaggerated partial interpretations which have clouded their influence. Raising a New England Puritan preacher like Edwards from the past and presenting him to the 20th century as a man of importance to its thought is no mean task. The old austerities of preaching about sin and salvation catch fewer ears now than they did two hundred years ago. Yet by approaching Edwards as the preacher, Turnbull has made a worthy contribution to the field of religious thought in America. Biographically and theologically one can find much that will set his view of the Northampton divine in proper perspective. It was a sermon that won him so much misunderstanding and yet, it is in his preaching that Turnbull finds the corrective.

In order to do this the author uses a few biographical chapters to place the preaching in its right personal and historical framework. He follows with a thorough-going discussion of every aspect of the Edwardian sermon from its painstaking preparation through its content and style of delivery.

Mr. Turnbull makes no effort, and rightly so, to refashion his subject into a mild and palatable sermonizer well suited to contemporary taste. He points out that a man like Edwards is often remembered more for the qualities of his time than for his own distinctive contributions which rise above 18th century New England. He is remembered as a pastor who went one step too far—even in a strict moral age—when he reprimanded personally and publicly some offenders in his Northampton parish. Turnbull reminds us that Edwards stood firmly by his convictions, that he served not only the minds but the souls of his people and that he turned his banishment from the par-

ish ministry into theologically productive years. The name of Edwards has stood for hell-fire preaching because of the famous Enfield sermon which when originally preached to his own congregation caused no special stir because his people had at least as often heard him speak warmly and eloquently on the gracious acceptance of the sinner. He is remembered as the foremost American proponent of Calvinism and predestination which he certainly was. But it is forgotten that he implored his hearers to press into the Kingdom. A more socially-oriented age accuses him of a rampant individualism, concentrating on the salvation of the individual man. But the fuller view recognizes that he was quite well in touch with the movements of his own time and that in an agrarian society it was expected that salvation would have its social consequences. If his sermons seem long and logical to us and unadorned by profuse illustrations, it was because he centered his attention on the Gospel of Christ, on the sinner needing salvation in preference to ethical discourses or popular harangues. It is true that he appealed to the emotions and self-interest, but he was preaching for a verdict that he felt would come only when a man understood his own condition in the light of God's grace.

Surely the preachers of our generation can find something of value in a man who was a warm pastor to his people, an able student of theology and his age, and a preacher more concerned with proclaiming the truths of God's relation to man than satisfying the whims of his contemporaries.

SAM H. BEAMESDERFER

*St. Peter's Presbyterian Church
Spencertown, New York*

Horace Bushnell: Minister to a Changing America. By BARBARA M. CROSS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. xv + 201 pages. \$6.00.

Emerson noted in his *Journal* that a sect was "an elegant incognito devised to save a

man from the vexation of thinking." Horace Bushnell never found his sect. Never could he save himself from the vexation of rewording, redefining and revising the Christian message. Had he lived a generation earlier, he wrote to James Freeman Clarke, Unitarianism would almost certainly have counted him among its "zealous adherents." Yet, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Unitarianism seemed to reveal errors and weaknesses because of which Bushnell had to remain aloof. Transcendentalism enchanted, but it assigned to the Bible a status too low, and to man a status too high. Orthodoxy had "more of the *material* of truth," but it was bound to ancient symbols insistently mistaken for ultimate realities. None was a haven of spiritual rest, nor even a sure path to God. Unitarianism fell in love with reason, transcendentalism with nature, and orthodoxy with revivals. It was an unfriendly world.

Thus the story of Horace Bushnell casts a strong fascination. Bushnell's grand and tragic search for meaning in his own life is but a dramatic index to his search for meaning in all life. And if his theological formulations revealed inconsistencies, vacillations and tensions, no less were these evident in his own experience. "Truth," he concluded in the "Dissertation on Language," in its "highest and freest forms, is not of the natural understanding, but is, rather, as Christ himself declared, spirit and life." If reality was to be reached only by personal, painful pilgrimage, Bushnell was prepared to pay that price.

Even as his theology cannot be viewed apart from his life, so neither of these can be clearly understood apart from the America to which he ministered—and which in turn ministered to him. Mrs. Cross carefully and perceptively reveals that America, and as well the interaction between the culture of a heterogeneous people and the mind of a Connecticut parson. In so doing, she artfully draws the lines of development in

Bushnell's theology: from the moderate rationalism of *Views of Christian Nurture*, through the "symbolic imagination" of *God in Christ* and the critical romanticism of *Nature and the Supernatural*, to—at last—a deepened, chastened commitment to something that looked suspiciously like orthodoxy. Love was the answer. Not the natural love which Edwards too had dismissed; not the calculating, prudential love of the utilitarian; but rather that irrational, inexplicable, incarnate love which was God's graceful gift to graceless man. By the sacrifice of Christ, "God's love broke into the world, and Christianity was born" (p. 143).

In this volume, particular attention is given to Bushnell as preacher, a role of significance in that remarkable age of oratory in America. The author's relaxed familiarity with the contemporaneous periodical literature enables her to contribute fresh perspective and valuable insight. Neither blatant nor polemic, and not even pedantic, this skillful study has reassuring poise. It should entice many students to intensive examination of this multi-faceted and most searching theologian.

EDWIN S. GAUSTAD

University of Redlands

"In God We Trust": The Religious Beliefs and Ideas of the American Founding Fathers. Selected, edited, and with commentary by Norman Cousins. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. viii + 464 pages. \$5.95.

In 1797 Thomas Paine, writing in defence of *The Age of Reason*, argued that the first two chapters of Genesis "contain two different and contradictory stories of the creation," and identified the point of separation after the third verse of chapter II. It is barely possible that he knew the work of Jean Astruc (1753), but it is certain that he had not heard of Julius Wellhausen (1849-1918). This perceptivity on Paine's part

may surprise some modern teachers of biblical criticism, but scarcely so much as his emphatic declarations of belief in one God, and in the immortality of the soul, will startle a lay public which has been conditioned to think of Paine as a "filthy little atheist."

Mr. Cousins has saved the Paine selections to the last. The rest of his generous compilation contains fewer surprises, but a wealth of significant materials. First to appear is Benjamin Franklin, negative about the preaching in the churches of his time, but contributing generously and somewhat indiscriminately to their support. George Washington, an Episcopal vestryman who never was confirmed (there were no Bishops in the colonies), characteristically avoids speculation and asserts a dignified, conservative trust in a dignified and conservative Supreme Being.

John Adams had expected to become a clergyman, but decided for the law. He remained a Christian, but refused to say whether he was "Catholic or Protestant, Calvinist or Arminian." Adams' great rival and his dear friend in old age, Thomas Jefferson, inevitably claims the most space. To him are assigned 203 pages, plus another 78 pages from the Jefferson-Adams letters.

Freedom of course is Jefferson's keynote: freedom of the individual mind, and therefore a general freedom for every religious grouping and separating. The sage of Monticello is intolerant only of Trinitarian doctrine, for which he betrays a violent distaste based upon a patent lack of understanding. The fault no doubt is less his than it is that of the clergy who had failed to think carefully and interpret clearly.

Alexander Hamilton, on the night before he died in the duel with Aaron Burr, wrote to his wife, "The scruples of a Christian have determined me to expose my own life to any extent, rather than subject myself to the guilt of taking the life of another." Samuel Adams, political radical and Puritan traditionalist, is his fiery self in both roles,

and equally contemptuous of Quakerism and of "Popery." John Jay, in total contrast, emerges as a tolerant Anglican who attended a Presbyterian Church when he was upstate, and who served in his last years as President of the American Bible Society.

Mr. Cousins' own introductions and comments are held to a minimum: so much so that one wishes he had allowed himself a greater latitude, even at the expense of cutting some of Mr. Jefferson's fairly repetitious expositions. Much of the material in the book has not been published before; and the total, brought together, is an invaluable quarry for study of the backgrounds of American religious tradition and practice.

There is no uniformity among the detailed views of these men. There remains an essential unity in devotion to moral values, and a considerable one in the belief in religious freedom. The case for that freedom which in the event was established, is further strengthened as one notes the occasional intolerances which these very human heroes allowed themselves.

GEORGE HEDLEY

Mills College

American Protestantism and Social Issues: 1919-1939. By ROBERT MOATS MILLER. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958. xiv + 385 pages. \$6.00.

This is a definitive record of the position of the major Protestant churches and of leading clergymen on important social issues during two extremely significant recent decades. Covering the same period as the recent study by Paul A. Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), it amplifies and in some respects corrects its slimmer predecessor.

Miller finds variations with time, geography, and denomination, but in general he reports a record of active, progressive witness.

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In spite of opposition the church remained well ahead of society on economic matters and labor relations. While the church must share some responsibility for the perpetuation of racial discrimination, religious groups also "led in shattering racial pride in America."

The section on civil liberties is of particular value, introducing much new material on the church's relationship to lynching, patriotic groups, academic freedom, and communists. In spite of some flirtation with the Ku Klux Klan and fundamentalist opposition to the teaching of evolution, the general record of Protestantism on civil liberties is found to be a proud one.

The section on international affairs is least satisfactory from the standpoint of objective interpretation. In discussing ecclesiastical pronouncements, no adequate distinction is made between the support of war by individuals and by the church as an institution. One gets the impression of a larger pacifist influence in the church than the decidedly minority movement it always was—in spite of the selective returns to various polls. Neither does the author credit pacifists with an alternative, positive program. Had he done so, he could not have considered their advocacy of United States neutrality to be "indistinguishable from that of the isolationists."

It would have been interesting to develop the relationship merely suggested between the more radical statements of the 30's and the rise of neo-orthodoxy. The chief explanation for church activity during that period might have been found to be sociological instead of theological, while the long run effect of neo-orthodoxy might have been discovered to be adaptionist.

Into any study of such magnitude a few mistakes are bound to creep. Owen Geer is several times referred to as "Greer." It was not (p. 125) "Blaine and Kirkpatrick" who were dismissed, but Blaine Kirkpatrick.

The scholarship of this volume as a

whole, however, must be highly commended. Written from the standpoint of a secular historian, it gives evidence of such vast dimensions of research as to put many other scholarly projects to shame. In spite of the difficulty of interpretation so close after the event, this is likely to become a standard volume in its field. As an added bonus, the style of writing is intriguing and stimulating. A generous sprinkling of healthy wit and humor maintains excitement even in such a concentrated presentation of compact data.

HARVEY SEIFERT

Southern California School of Theology

RELIGIOUS BIOGRAPHY

Albert Schweitzer, The Story of His Life.

By JEAN PIERHAL. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 160 pages. \$3.00.

This version of *Albert Schweitzer: Das Leben eines guten Menschen* is a brief, simple, unpretentious biography that provides an excellent introduction to the man who, perhaps more than any other in this century, represents religion in action. Original minds will be inspired by his spirit of independence and the orthodox will be challenged by the tenor of his life.

For those who like to attempt to account for an individual by heredity and environment, ample material for speculation is provided. Schweitzer's father was a pastor and the son of a pastor, who was careful to see that music as well as religion became a natural part of the boy's environment. Young Schweitzer's first piano lessons came from his father. Both of his grandfathers had been organists in their own right. The atmosphere of religion and music in the home gave full opportunity for him to find himself in these realms. Pastor Louis Schweitzer was also an author who aspired to be an Alsatian Jeremias Gotthelf. His contributions to periodicals and almanacs were a winsome portrayal of the country life of his day.

It is fascinating to mark the encounters along the way that were catalysts for the formation of and expression of character traits that eventually made the man: the shiver that came with hearing the first two-part singing; the determination to identify himself with his peers when one blamed him for the privilege of adequate nourishment; the haunting sympathy for the subordinate figure of a negro in a monument at Colmar; the inspiring school master who made him a student; the organ teacher who first let him play what he felt; the determination early to follow his own convictions regardless of the opinions of others; admiration for the silence of a Jewish peddler under abuse; the shooing away of birds about to be killed with boys' sling-shots; the discussions over current events while living with a great uncle.

University years saw the great turning points in the life of Schweitzer the man: his decision at twenty-one to study nine more years and then serve; acquaintanceships with the master organ player, Charles Marie Widor, and the master organ builder, Aristide Cavaillé-Coll; determination to study philosophy after theology; his disappointment at the decadence of culture and civilization; his first positions as curate and lecturer in theology; his first real encounter with Helene Bresslau; his reading of the challenge in a missionary magazine coupled to the obituary of one Henry Chapius, who died at the age of twenty-eight as a result of tropical disease contracted in the Ogowe River area in Central Africa, that set the goal for his own mission; and the subsequent decision to study medicine.

There follow the better known accomplishments and sacrifices of Africa.

Although little attempt is made to introduce the thought of this man, the author has very thoughtfully given the circumstance in which each of Schweitzer's major works arose and often the germ thought as well.

The reader will be grateful to an admiring

author who nevertheless allows the hero his human frailties and ambiguities. The good doctor can lose patience with his charges as well as serve them. He can refuse to embroil himself in politics, preferring ethics instead, when asked to publish his attitude toward the Third Reich! He can reveal in his seventieth birthday speech that he has not always been a pleasant superior and co-worker.

Perhaps a fancied exchange with his doctoral supervisor in philosophy best reveals his significance for students and instructors of Bible and Religion.

"Do you want to be a theologian or a philosopher, Schweitzer?"

"Both, Professor. For, after all, is not the knowledge of God ultimately consistent with the world views of the great thinkers?"

NEILL Q. HAMILTON

San Francisco Theological Seminary

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

The Great Religions. By QUINTER MARCELLUS LYON. New York: The Odyssey Press, 1957. xvi + 732 pages. \$5.50.

Field men must have demonstrated a vacuum in the list of college textbooks for the history of religions. Since a publisher, like nature, abhors a vacuum, virtually every house has recently brought out at least one book in hope of winning the coveted adoptions. With some notable exceptions, most of these attractively bound tomes repeat each other endlessly. This is, perhaps, inevitable, if the success of a volume is judged by its sales-record and its usefulness in perpetuating the courses as they are now taught.

This volume contains the usual information about the early phases of the great religions, but it is incredibly sketchy in its treatment of modern developments, for example: Sikhism is carried from Gobind Singh to the present in little more than a page, and, *mirabile dictu*, Christianity is carried from A.D. 325 to the present in two

pages. The most unique feature is the bracketing of its material with a philosophical treatment of maturity, the burden of its Introduction and Conclusion. With every religious system studied, there is a formal evaluation of its maturity.

One gets the impression that "maturity" is a tangible substance. Confucius had it, Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics and many others had "relative maturity" (p. 94). "In Buddhism we have found a religion with much maturity" (p. 210). "Naturally there is little in the way of maturity in prehistoric and primitive religion" (p. 31), and "Near Eastern religion must of course be judged as immature" (p. 72). Other religions are similarly evaluated, including Judaism, potentially mature if interpreted "symbolically, socially, and ethically, in harmony with its prophetic insights" (p. 543), and Christianity, where real loyalty to Jesus would result in mature religion (p. 618).

The Johannine word, "You will know the truth, and the truth will make you free (John 8:32)," is cited as favoring intellectual honesty and personal commitment to the truth in science, cosmology, history, sociology, or wherever the truth is found. Apparently, the preceding verse, where this kind of truth is specifically restricted, was not read. Exception is taken to Jesus' view of sex, expressed in Matt. 5:27-30, as "negative and repressive, whereas the modern view of psychological health, while perhaps erring in the opposite direction, yet points to the need for normal emotional expression tempered by sublimation" (p. 617).

A student seeking spiritual sophistication should be titillated by this book. However, its ready-made judgments, its pontificating on matters which are still under scholarly debate, and its lack of emphasis on primary sources will likely stand in the way of attaining real maturity in the study of religion.

HARRY M. BUCK, JR.

Wellesley College

Faiths Men Live By. By JOHN CLARK ARCHER. Revised by Carl E. Purinton. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958. v + 553 pages. \$5.75.

The first edition of this text appeared in 1934. That means that it served some six college generations. A great many things have happened in the religious world since 1934 that needed to be told. Think of what World War II did to Japan's national faith, Shinto. Think what Communism has done to the Chinese religions. When the first edition was written, there was no Independent India, no Pakistan, no Indonesian republic. Much of the Orient was still under the control of the colonial powers of Europe. Japan was expanding her empire, expecting to dominate the Eastern hemisphere. Already she was in North China extending her co-prosperity sphere, and she was even then, as a mandate power in the South Pacific, building up her bases that were later to enable her for a time to command the southern Pacific. Communism was already gaining strength in China, but was usually thought of as a peculiarly Chinese version, quite unlike that of Russia. Hitler was beginning his rise to power in Germany and Russian Communism was seeking by every possible means to eradicate religion from Russia. The world was in the grip of a deep depression; the failure of the League of Nations was by now quite apparent. There was, of course, no such thing as atomic bombs. The atomic age was still a decade away.

All the vast cataclysmic changes of these past twenty-five years have not left religion the same. Religion always reflects in some measure scientific, social, economic and philosophical change. Our text books must take account of these changes if they are to represent fairly the great world faiths. Of course the original teaching of Jesus has not changed, nor that of Buddha or Moses. The ancient forms of religion recorded in the textbooks, of course, have not changed. But

in some cases new discoveries by the archeologists, or by the students of language and literature have caused scholars to revise their ways of looking at these teachings and institutions. And this the historian of religion must take into account. Hence the constant necessity for re-studying, reconsidering, and eventually for the revision of what has been written.

Dr. Archer's text, I have always had great respect for. It was packed with factual material. His scholarship was dependable. One might differ with him in some of his judgments, but always with respect for them, as based on careful study and research. I had the feeling that there was rather too much detail for the ordinary undergraduate student, and the pages were heavy with technical terms, many of them Sanskrit or Pali or Chinese (transliterated of course). The apparatus of scholarship obtruded itself too prominently, it seemed to me.

The book as revised is still, in most respects, Archer's book. It is brought down to date where that was called for. But it has, it seems to me been made much more readable. Dr. Purinton has provided many new paragraphs, has eliminated outdated material, has provided new bibliographies, which bring to the reader's attention numerous recent books pertinent to the subject. The results of his own first hand contact with a number of the religions during his recent year abroad in the Near and Middle East are apparent, particularly in his assessment of the effects of the modern world upon the various faiths. I was a little surprised not to find account taken of the discoveries with respect to pre-Vedic India in the Indus valley archeological reports, especially that of Sir John Marshall; and also that no account was taken of the growing world consciousness of the Buddhists as illustrated especially in the recent celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha.

But on the whole Dr. Purinton has done an excellent job in revising the book. He has

rephrased many of the questions offered for study and discussion. And the printers have made an improvement in their choice of type face which makes it much more attractive, and calls for less eye strain. All together the new edition puts within reach of the teacher of the history of religion a very usable and authoritative text. It is sure to be adopted by many professors who teach survey courses in the living religions of the world.

CHARLES S. BRADEN

Dallas, Texas

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

The Crucial Task of Theology. By E. ASHBY JOHNSON. Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1958. 222 pages. \$5.00.

The author, now chaplain at Austin College in Sherman, Texas, holds bachelor's, master's and doctor's degrees from Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Va., has held Presbyterian pastorates and taught philosophy, and took a special year of study at Yale in preparation for the writing of this book. This background of scholarship is clearly reflected in this penetrating and useful volume.

This is a presentation, not of the content of Christian theology and not—at least in the ordinary sense—of Christian apologetics, but of what theology is all about. After a preliminary tracing of the forces both within the Christian community and in the secular world which are antithetical to its very existence, three chapters are devoted to the scope, the method, and the limits of theology. In these are developed the argument for a coherent and comprehensive, but always humble, quest for ultimate meanings—a quest which can hold its place alongside of the inquiries of science and philosophy and achieve significant goals if it duly recognizes its limitations. The final chapter is a very interesting study of the necessary place of symbolic language in theology, essential because in

part it deals with non-propositional truth.

Related to this semantic matter, and typical of the author's mood of inclusiveness with the drawing of distinctions, is his treatment of the current analytic trend in philosophy. This expends much of its energy in the semantic analysis of propositions to the evasion of ultimate issues; yet its concern for the accurate and meaningful use of words is a duty the theologian must not evade. When he moves with precision, he will not try to make propositions out of symbols, but will incorporate into theology some of the methodology of art for the apprehension of non-propositional meaning.

An important emphasis of the book is what the author calls the "hairetic" aspect of theological method. This means the element of personal decision and choice. Such decisions and choices are inevitably made, both by individuals and within major theological trends. Yet they do not drive us into complete subjectivity, for without human response there is no divine revelation. On the other hand, recognition of the hairetic element is essential to the prevention of dogmatism. Theology becomes most vulnerable when it seeks to cover up the element of necessary subjectivity which adheres in it.

There is so much that is good in the book that I hesitate to suggest a weakness in its foundations, but this I feel obliged to do. Is the author's definition of theology adequate? I doubt it. He defines it, and reverts to the definition repeatedly, in these words, "Theology has its variety of forms, but in all its expressions it is *that human inquiry which undertakes to present in intelligible form a coherent and comprehensive statement of truths which are of ultimate concern to man* (p. 24. Italics his). This seems to me to define metaphysics, or in any case the philosophy of religion, with equal accuracy. A footnote states that Christian theology is presupposed, and that "ultimate concern" is used in the sense in which Paul Tillich uses it. Yet I do not feel that the ambiguity is

ever fully removed. The crucial problem of theology is the relation of reason to divine revelation, and while revelation appears in the book it receives minor attention. I fully agree that theology ought to give as coherent and comprehensive a statement as possible, but the author in making much of paradox and of non-propositional symbols as necessary ingredients of theology seems not to adhere to his own definition. Are not these, rather, non-rational elements of *Christian experience*, which theology within its limitations must seek to understand and systematize? Further clarity at these points would have made a good book a better one.

GEORGIA HARKNESS

Pacific School of Religion

Essentials in Christian Faith. By JOHN B. HARRINGTON. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. xiii + 290 pages.

This *Introduction* to current religious thought emerged from the give and take of the college classroom. Thus by origin and by choice it is the "confessional" work of the participant. The material is organized topically and presented as a supplement, not a substitute for the reading of original texts.

Beginning with man in his present predicament, the analysis moves through methodological matters to an exposition of the Christian understanding of God, Christ, the church and eschatology. Most of the eighteen chapters begin with the statement of the question to be answered, proceed to accounts of the answers which have been given, and conclude with a reformulation of traditional beliefs.

While not wishing to pigeon hole him prematurely, I take it the author shares the theological perspective known as Christian Existentialism. Out of the "struggle to be" come the real issues of thought; these are the questions for which Christian faith is the answer. Possessed by faith, the answers must nonetheless be elaborated in terms of

the cultural context. The formulation of the questions and the articulation of the answers is philosophic work and the proper task of Christian philosophy.

Philosophic reflection brings us to a realization of man's three-fold predicament: moral, intellectual and religious. The first comes to a head in the nihilism implicit in moral relativism, the second in the impasse between skepticism and dogmatism, and the third in man's effort to absolutize the relative or otherwise pretend to be God. Professor Harrington believes metaphysics is the proper subject matter of philosophy when the latter is conceived as an art. Its job is to develop "root metaphors" which will serve as coordinating concepts in the organization of experience. The Hebrew-Christian world view is one of these. Like all first premises it must be adopted not proved. While not subject to strict empirical verification it can be tested by the "method of dialectical ex-

periment." One wishes the author had developed this suggestion.

Christian thought works from an event matrix. Neither ideas nor religious experiences but objective historical events are the locus of revelation. The revealed truth of Christianity is, of course, Jesus Christ; in him the divine-human encounter became complete. At this point the author writes at length on the cluster of doctrinal themes surrounding the Christ event: incarnation, reconciliation, atonement, resurrection and justification. The relation of the last two terms reflects the author's conviction that the resurrection has more to do with the victory of grace over sin than with life after death. The book concludes with an examination of the nature and life of the church which is ideally the present realization of eternal life.

The best parts of the book are those in which the author brings his philosophical

Theology and Modern Literature

By AMOS WILDER. Citing examples from both sides, this optimistic study examines a growing tendency toward bridging the gulf between Christianity and the arts, particularly in the field of literature. The author discusses in detail the dilemma of the relation of Christianity to the aesthetic order of experience. He devotes his concluding chapters to examples of the treatment of religious subjects by Jeffers and Faulkner. \$3.00

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knowledge to bear on the question of how Christian faith may employ philosophy. The sections given over to the "translation of theories (traditional) for today" frequently appear as equivocations. To insist on the event-full character of Hebrew religion and then assume you can have the meaning of a miracle without it being an actual event seems arbitrary to me. To establish the incarnation on Jesus' acknowledgment of his finitude rather than on some supernatural powers surely miscarries the intent of orthodoxy. The witness to the infinite contained in self acknowledged finitude is saintliness not incarnation. Christians have declared Christ to be of one substance with the Father, not self-conscious otherness from the Father. But my quarrel is probably with a school of thought and not this author's well stated text.

An appendix of Major Ecumenical Conferences, good reading lists and an index make the book very useful as a beginners' text.

LEE OSBORNE SCOTT

Denison University

Theology in Conflict: Nygren, Barth, Bultmann. By GUSTAF WINGREN. Tr. by ERIC H. WAHLSTROM. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958. xxii + 170 pages. \$3.25.

The conflict dealt with in this compact book is not that between the three "most influential contemporary theologians," but that between each of them and the New Testament. Wingren points out that every theology presupposes some attitude toward the historical roots of the Christian faith in Jesus, primitive Christianity, and the biblical writings; and also some conception about man and his situation as he is confronted by the Word contained in the Scriptures. These presuppositions, respectively hermeneutical and anthropological, are closely connected, so that a theologian's way of reading Scripture ordinarily carries with it a certain view of

man and culture, and vice versa. The author's central question is: Are the presuppositions of these theologians valid on the basis of the Bible, and specifically the New Testament?

The major topics of inquiry are Nygren's critical philosophy of religion and his motif research, Barth's *Gott-Mensch* antithesis and his conception of "the Word," and Bultmann's anthropology and his interpretation of the kerygma. Wingren asserts his great indebtedness to the three thinkers, but makes plain his own assumption that in each theology any elements which interfere with comprehension of the biblical material being interpreted should be corrected or removed.

Under the anthropological presuppositions the writer concentrates attention on the problem of law in its relation to the gospel. In his view, Barth, because he rejects all knowledge of God and all real awareness of law, guilt, and judgment outside the Christian revelation, must put in the gospel the ethical content he does not find in the law. As a result, the gospel tends to demand instead of bestowing righteousness, thus losing its essential content and becoming legalistic. Since natural law is rejected, the gospel must furnish *knowledge* of God and his will. Two results follow: God's activity is removed from natural life, and the revealed Word loses its special character as an act of divine forgiveness.

Nygren's motif research finds in history a fundamental motif (e.g., *Eros*, *Nomos*, *Agape*) which answers a fundamental categorical question posed by philosophy. In Wingren's view this method prevents systematic theology from stating its problem in its most radical form. The gospel of *agape*, forgiveness, and the new man is out of place when construed as an answer to a philosophical question from which the idea of guilt has been removed.

Bultmann also fails to deal satisfactorily with the law. He makes a purely formal, philosophical analysis of human existence

which makes no connection between the kerygma as preached and the existential decisions of the concrete everyday life of the hearer. The law is spiritualized, and both guilt and the gospel become egocentric, divorced from all relation to the neighbor. The one means simply that I have not realized my existence; the other, that I have been given my existence as an "ability to become." But the New Testament means much more than this.

Wingren's own treatment of the positive task of theology and his alternatives to the difficulties he discusses are inadequately developed, and leave much to be desired. However, construction is not his chief aim in this work. His critical analyses are closely knit and carefully wrought, and place all serious students of contemporary theology in his debt. On the constructive side, too, his book offers many valuable insights and suggestions; for example, his view that theology must begin with the actual demands of community life, in which the neighbor is always present, and sift them in the light of the Word; his concern to keep open the communications between theology and other disciplines; and his insistence that the historical and systematic disciplines in theology have distinctly different functions which are related but cannot be interchanged.

S. PAUL SCHILLING

Boston University School of Theology

An Existentialist Theology. A Comparison of Heidegger and Bultmann. By JOHN MACQUARRIE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955. xii + 252 pages. \$3.75.

Fundamentally, this study represents an inquiry into Bultmann's existential approach to the problems of theology, an approach which the author defends on three grounds: the right of the apologist to utilize current philosophical concepts, the claim that there is a special relation between existentialism and

theology, and the affinity that exists between the concepts of existentialism and those of biblical thought. Professor Macquarrie himself is aware of the difficulties inherent in this manner of theologizing. He observes, for example, that "preoccupation with a secular philosophy and the employment of it in the interpretation of the Christian faith may easily lead to the distortion of the Christian teaching through the over-emphasis of those elements in it which happen to be specially congenial to the philosophy concerned. Or again, ideas quite foreign to Christianity may slip into its theology while masquerading under the guise of traditional Christian terminology (and even worse), there may be a plain accommodation of the Christian faith to the prevailing philosophical fashion of the age" (p. 4). The author reminds us of the fact that all these dangers took place when Christian theology fell under the influence of Hegelianism, and much of what is now called liberal modernism was originally motivated by the idea that, at all costs, the Christian faith must be so interpreted as not to give offense to the popular scientific outlook. It is understandable, therefore, that men like Barth, Brunner and many others in the tradition of Kierkegaard, should be persistently antagonistic to rational philosophy. In the light of these considerations, how may the influence of existentialistic philosophy upon the theological thought of Rudolf Bultmann be justified and explained? The author himself inquires, "Is not Bultmann falling into the old error of making Christian teaching conform to the trends of secular thought? And will not Christian theology be again misled and distorted through this alien influence?" According to Macquarrie, however, the case of Bultmann's existentialist theology belongs in a category by itself. Bultmann is not a follower of Heidegger, and neither is Heidegger a follower of Bultmann, but there is something of fundamental and ultimate importance which both men share, namely: methodology.

For Bultmann, theology is a phenomenology of faith through which what is implicit in Christian belief is exhibited in a connected system of thought. It is a clarification of the content of this faith and the bringing of it to conscious knowledge (p. 6). But this clarification or analysis must be undertaken according to Bultmann, from the standpoint of faith itself, and here is the nexus between Heidegger's existential philosophy and Bultmann's theology. Heidegger tells us that "theology seeks a more original interpretation (than history does) of the being of man in relation to God, drawn from the meaning of faith itself and remaining within it." But the question of being, Heidegger would point out, is one that has long been neglected not only by theologians, but by philosophers, scientists and historians as well. The idea of being is of course assumed in every inquiry, but it is extremely obscure and its initial obscurity is bound to have its consequences in any ontical inquiry into which it is carried. In agreement with this position Bultmann takes up the challenge, and before interpreting the Christian faith, pauses to examine the presuppositions of theological thinking. These presuppositions he finds clarified and secured by an existential methodology, for existentialism is above all, a philosophy of being. In fact, Heidegger has argued that in the approach to the problematics of being in general, precedence must be given to the being of man because *being* in man is awareness; as existing, man is disclosed to himself. He is self-conscious.

An existential analysis of being and thought in the manner of Heidegger apparently satisfies Bultmann's requirement. Inquiry must be addressed, therefore, first of all, to the presuppositions underlying all inquiry, namely, *Fragenstellung* and *Begrifflichkeit*. To quote from Macquarrie's effective illustration, "A man on the verge of despair who asks himself whether there is a God has obviously a very different *Fragenstellung* from that of the philosopher, who, reclining in his study,

asks whether there is a God as the ground of the natural world." One embodies an existential issue, the other, a speculative question. Both may conclude that there is a God, but the concepts of God are bound to be widely different in each. One will have found the God of prayer and worship, the other the God of metaphysical speculation. Because of this fact of *Fragenstellung*, man and his being as well as his relation to God are of transcendental significance in the very phrasing or putting of the theological question. The same is true about *Begrifflichkeit*. In both Heidegger and Bultmann, *Begrifflichkeit* stands for more than mere terminology. It stands for the context of ideas expressed in terminology and as such it alludes to the basic concepts which any type of inquiry employs in the understanding of its subject matter. Following in the footsteps of Heidegger, Bultmann replaces the traditional Aristotelian-Kantian categories by Heidegger's "existentials" as more applicable to the unique phenomena of the human being.

With the foregoing considerations as fundamental prolegomena in the background, Macquarrie studies Heidegger's analysis of "inauthentic existence" in the light of Bultmann's understanding of the New Testament teaching on "man without faith." In both Heidegger and Bultmann, we are told, inauthenticity is a matter of fallenness. There are fundamental continuities and similarities, therefore, between Heidegger's "*Dasein*" engulfed by "*Vorhandenheit*" and Bultmann's "man without faith and without Christ." Parallelisms may be found also between Heidegger's concept of the authentic existence and Bultmann's exposition of the Christian life as "a new understanding of the self," between Heidegger's freedom from anxiety and Bultmann's peace of mind. As Macquarrie very well observes, however, not everything is a matter of agreement between Heidegger and Bultmann. Both the concept of conscience and the exaggerated powers attributed to it by Heidegger are rejected by

Bultmann, and in the last analysis so is also the ultimate implication of Heidegger's concept of authenticity based upon the self-disclosure of conscience. Authenticity is in both a matter of humility and gracious acceptance; but in Heidegger humility is self-devaluation before ultimate nothingness, while in Bultmann it is self-devaluation before God. In fairness to Bultmann, therefore, recognition must be made of the fact that not only frequent disagreements are to be found between him and Heidegger, but also that, contrary to first impressions, his theology does not even depend upon existential philosophy for form and content. Radical biblical scholar that he is, there is a great deal of liberal modernism in his views, many of which views one may or may not consider religiously fruitful or theologically relevant to the understanding of the *kerygma*, such for example, as his views on demythologizing.

The purpose of the present book review not being that of appraising Heidegger's existentialist philosophy, but Macquarrie's book on Bultmann's existentialist theology, it is unnecessary to allude here to the epistemological difficulties and inconsistencies entailed by existentialism. Concerning Bultmann's theology and methodology, however, some comment from Macquarrie on the following questions would have been relevant and fruitful. Is not Bultmann's existential analysis of the presuppositions and content of the original Christian faith by way of Heidegger's *Fragestellung* and *Begrifflichkeit* too much of a quest into etymology? With concepts, as well as with human beings, institutions and processes, origin is always important, but final outcome is more significant. If the Christian faith is life, it is growth; and its nature is bound to be revealed more in what it has become than what originally it was or might have been. And this, not only because of the dynamic nature of all that is development and process, but also, because of the very nature of language, which, as

Wegener, Jespersen, Sapir, and so many other scholars have shown, through metaphor has evolved from initial aesthetic intuition to epistemic warrantability. To assert the opposite would be to fall prey to some form of the fallacy of primitivism in theology, science or any other province of inquiry. All in all, however, Professor Macquarrie's text on *Existentialist Theology* is greatly suggestive and challenging, highly instructive and profoundly rewarding.

J. A. FRÁNZQUIZ

West Virginia Wesleyan College

Critique of Religion and Philosophy. By WALTER KAUFMANN. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. xvii + 308 pages. \$5.00.

Dr. Kaufmann leads the reader on a vigorous, if somewhat erratic, gallop through the luxuriant fields of philosophy and religion, with energetic sallies into many by-paths, especially those of art and literature. The goal of the trip may not always be clearly discernible, but the mode of travel is never in doubt—sharp criticism, high keyed polemic, and epigrammatic conclusions. The reader is assured of an exciting journey.

A list of the subjects and thinkers treated is too lengthy for inclusion in this review. We find positivism, existentialism, faith, truth, mysticism, demythologizing interlaced with Plato, Aquinas, Kant, James, Freud, Tillich, R. Niebuhr, and Fromm. The author has left us in no doubt that he possesses a remarkable acquaintance with contemporary and historic sources. If his knowledge and judgment matched the scope of his acquaintanceship, this would indeed be a formidable volume. Kaufmann lacks nothing in audacity in attacking great issues and figures. Few are the cherished notions of either philosophers or theologians that escape unscathed from Kaufmann's sweeping criticisms and barbed analyses. With what degree of balance and sensitive understanding

all of this is accomplished is an open question, Brand Blanshard's comment on the book jacket about Kaufmann's "rare impartiality" to the contrary notwithstanding. (I presume that by the term "impartial" Blanshard means that the author has laid about him with equal severity in all directions!)

Philosophers of an analytic persuasion may not warm to the author's suggestion that they are engaged in a retreat to a position safe from the further assaults of science (p. 36). Many in the analytic school may well have fancied themselves as leading a revolution, not burying the corpse of philosophy. Kaufmann further suggests that "ordinary language philosophy" has perhaps proved attractive to many bright young men because "one can participate in most discussions and even publish contributions without developing any extraphilosophic competence" (p. 37). Kantians, Thomists, and existentialists also receive their fair share of intellectual knocks, but there is also ample evidence of Kaufmann's sympathy with the insights of many of his opponents.

Some of the most severe blows are reserved for theology and theologians. Kaufmann will not allow the theologians to refine their terms in such a way as to make useless the ammunition he has gathered for the assault. For example, "the theologian defends his religious heritage by sacrificing its plain exoteric meaning" (cf. pp. 128-129). After all, if one is primed to explode "plain exoteric meaning," it is scarcely fair to move the target. Serious-minded theologians may not take kindly to the author's dictum that theirs is a "continued fight for the abundance of mystery and not for rationalistic clarification" (p. 130). Nor will those who ply the trade of biblical theology quite recognize the scrupulous fairness of this judgment: "Out of the New Testament they (theologians) pick appropriate verses and connect them to fashion an intellectual and moral self-portrait which they solemnly call 'the message of the New Testament' or 'the Christian view';

and out of other Scriptures they carve (sic!) all kinds of inferior straw men. Theologians do not just do this incidentally; this is theology" (p. 157). Kaufmann simply does not like theology or theologians as such!

One almost receives the impression that the author has not taken the pains to find out what theologians are doing. How else is one to explain his notions that higher Bible criticism is sprinkled with "anti-Semitism" (p. 205), that Paul made dogma essential to salvation (p. 209), or that salvation is necessarily connected with life after death (*ibid.*)? Has Kaufmann adequately clarified and justified the statement that "the ultimate concern of Christianity has never been with truth in any ordinary sense of that word. On the contrary, Christianity has come into conflict with truth from the days of Paul to the days of Fosdick and Niebuhr" (p. 222)?

Some will read the book rejoicing in Kaufmann's thrusts at the positions of others, and will pass hurriedly over the strictures put upon their own positions. Others will see only those passages where their own ideas are put on the block, and be irritated, consequently. The question is not only how fairly executed the critique is, but how suggestive Kaufmann's criticisms have been for one's own clarification and understanding. On the latter score there is much in the book to be commended to the serious reader. Its incisive, pungent epigrams stimulate thought. Its wit and satire offset the heavy handed demolition of Kaufmann's favorite antipathies. There is much of value for philosopher and theologian alike when one discounts the book's pose of jaunty iconoclasm.

CLYDE A. HOLBROOK

Oberlin College

The Self as Agent. By JOHN MACMURRAY. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 230 pages. \$3.75.

In *The Self as Agent*, representing the first series of his Gifford lectures in 1953,

Macmurray seeks to recall the philosopher from the dilemma of present-day arid alternatives to the consideration of a perspective, once known, now almost forgotten, which offers philosophical inclusiveness while at the same time making a contribution to religious understanding.

Macmurray maintains that the collapse of philosophical reasoning today is illustrated by the logical empiricist on the one hand and the existentialist on the other. The logical empiricist and the existentialist agree in the opinion that the traditional method of philosophy cannot solve the philosophical problem. "But whereas the logical empiricists discard the problem in order to maintain the method, the existentialists relinquish the method in wrestling with the problems. So the later achieve a minimum of form; the former a minimum of substance" (p. 27).

The resolution of the philosophical problem is not to be found in either of these schools. Logical empiricism errs in the excessive theory and egocentricity of the position, "I think." Existentialism errs in the egocentrism and the entirely non-theoretical position, "I exist." In order to resolve the dilemma, one must go back through existentialism and logical empiricism to Kant and Descartes. The clue to a position in which reconciliation is possible is Kant's idea of the "primacy of the practical"; and the "I do," the practical, is the lever which must unseat the "I think," the theoretical, if the

contemporary thinker is to move effectively "beyond existentialism" or "beyond logical empiricism."

Along with the brilliance of Macmurray's carefully articulated point of view, the reader will notice three interesting parallels to points of view in more explicitly religious discussion. (1) The primacy of the activity of God in his revelation stressed by Anderson, Wright, Fuller, and others receives a philosophical substantiation in *The Self as Agent*. (2) In *The Self as Agent* there is an interesting approximation to the Hocking-Toynbee-Dodd idea of "alternation" or "withdrawal and return." Macmurray speaks of "a rhythm of attention which swings between the awareness of the Other and the movement of the Agent" (p. 181). Again, "the succession of positive and negative phases, of movement and of reflection, is so characteristic of the personal life that it would be well to have a name for it. We shall refer to it whenever we meet it as 'the rhythm of withdrawal and return'" (p. 181). (3) A third parallel is that between the contemporary emphasis upon the commitment dimension of faith and MacMurray's emphasis upon choice in action.

It seems quite likely that these chapters will reopen to many the positive relationship between philosophy and theology, between faith and reason. Macmurray accomplished this by recovering the proper breadth and depth that belong to "reason." Without

SAVOY TERCENTENARY AWARD

The 300th anniversary of The Savoy Declaration, October 12, 1658

WRITERS ARE INVITED to submit manuscripts for a layman's study book outlining our Christian faith as set forth in the New Testament and presenting the nature of the Church and the duties of Church members as set forth in The Savoy Declaration.

1. Manuscripts must be typewritten, approximately 200 pages in length.
2. Manuscripts must be submitted not later than March 1, 1959.
3. The judges' decision will be made public on May 15, 1959.
4. The writer of the first prize MS will receive \$100 in cash, with publication of the book guaranteed.
5. The writer of the second prize MS will receive \$50 in cash.
6. Further information and entry forms may be obtained by writing to Professor Matthew Spinka, 221 Girard Avenue, Hartford 5, Conn.
7. Contest judges, whose decision is final, are Professor Matthew Spinka, Ph.D., Hartford Theological Seminary; Rev. Wendell L. Fifield, D.D., First Congregational Church of Los Angeles; The Reverend Henry David Gray, Ph.D., South Congregational Church, Hartford, Conn.

claiming to present a systematic metaphysics, he nevertheless is writing metaphysically. He moves through philosophy to establish the unity of the world as one action of God, and the "hope of an ultimate unity of persons in fellowship" (p. 222).

While a thorough criticism of this point of view must await the publication of Volume II, *Persons in Relation*, enough can be known from *The Self as Agent* to say that here is a significant expression of a point of view which promises to mediate between points of view, to restore the importance of metaphysics to the religious thinker, and to put both the theologian and the philosopher on the way of an understanding of human experience which will be mutually fructifying.

JACK BOOZER

Emory University

The Church Faces the Isms. By the Faculty of Louisville Presbyterian Seminary, ARNOLD B. RHODES, Editor. New York: Abingdon Press, 1958. 304 pages. \$4.50.

In spite of personal differences and the inevitable peculiarity of every theological slant, it is refreshing to have a seminary faculty collaborate in discussion of competing world-views quite other than those of one's own classroom, study, and chancel. This book, growing out of a coöperative course at Louisville Presbyterian Seminary, attempts to confront thirteen "isms," including Judaism and Catholicism, with "main-line Protestantism," which unfortunately is not itself criticized as an "ism," though contemporary Protestants receive some evaluations. An "ism" is defined as "a more or less coherent body of doctrine which has not been accepted as official by any established or parent church, but which has not objectified itself into a dissenting party." Thus, by setting up originally "sectarian" "main-line Protestantism" as the norm and vanquishing Judaism and Catholicism in addition,

the authors provide a *fait accompli* of logic and historical understanding. Yet this monumental feat of Protestant self-congratulation is carried on with charity and does come to grips with the competing loyalties of the contemporary religious market place.

This volume should be especially useful to ministers and professors who find *isms* in their congregations or students about which they may know very little. Thus the *terra incognita* of Dispensationalism is charted by W. D. Chamberlain and Perfectionism falls short under the analysis of Julian Price Love. The chapter on Fundamentalism by L. C. Rudolph is concrete and fresh, even if it limps a bit on conclusions. Turning from these predominantly "biblical" *isms*, four *isms* both "biblical and cultural" are weighed by Arnold Rhodes with an informative chapter on "Judaism"; by Kenneth J. Foreman who notes how Roman Catholicism preserved order during the "mess" of a thousand years of western Europe, which would have been an "unholy mess" without it; by a broadly-based, irenic consideration of Denominationalism and Ecumenism by Frank M. Caldwell; and by Harry Goodykoontz's half-appreciative, half-critical review of the Healing Sects.

The four concluding chapters consider *isms* predominantly cultural, beginning with a plainly-worded criticism of "Totalitarianism: Fascism and Communism" by Norman Horner, conservative and discriminating. William Benfield's chapter on Racism is another well-balanced combination of conservative theology and liberal social views. Kenneth Foreman's confrontation of Naturalism, Scientism, and Modernism might be accused of protesting too much against movements which also might prove to be prolegomena for the Gospel. The final chapter by C. Morton Hanna evaluates Secularism with typical biblical allusions and down-to-earth quality.

One cannot say that these chapters are

profound or carefully thought-through regarding presuppositions and conclusions. They are rather tracts for the times, with specific reference to the life of the church and the direct questions of ministers and people. Here is the strength of the book. While reading it one frequently reflects that Protestantism is being regarded as only an *ism* among *isms* after all. But the temptation so to think and feel is precisely the situation of the church in American society, and the unwillingness of the authors to step into a safer and more rarefied arena of theological discussion is greatly to their credit. The reader may frequently nod and skip, but the issues are real and solid answers are expressed with conviction. Thus the book is stimulating: dialogue results and a sufficient reward is the feeling that an attempt has been made to increase the relevance of the church in the cynical-naive lives of contemporary American Christians.

LOWELL H. ZUCK

Eden Theological Seminary

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

The Sociology of Religion. By THOMAS FORD HOULT. New York: The Dryden Press, 1958. xii + 437 pages. \$5.25.

This book was originally an attempt to bring Clifford Kirkpatrick's excellent book *Religion in Human Affairs* up to date. What has emerged, however is a new study, as Hoults explains in the Acknowledgement. He gives a compact introduction to the field divided into three major parts: (a) an explanation of "theoretical considerations," (b) a discussion of the phenomenon of religion as a social institution, and (c) an interpretation of the relationship between religion and other major social institutions. We will review the contents of this book in reverse order. In the third part, Hoults discusses the relationship to religion of such social institutions as the family, politics, economics,

stratification, education, and science. These aspects of society have been discussed not only in Yinger's book *Religion, Society, and the Individual* last year, but by many others.

Hoults's synthetical structuralization in this part of his analysis, however, is remarkable, especially because he uses so little space to present so large an area of study. This is the main reason why Hoults cannot discuss more thoroughly the interrelationships with other religions than Christianity, and by Christianity he often means American Christianity.

In the second part of the book Hoults discusses the institutionalization and differentiation of religion. "Institutionalization" refers to the *process* through which relatively simple groupings become institutions. They change values, relationships and procedures which are the *results* of the process. We think Hoults probably would be able to discuss this dynamic character of institutionalization more smoothly if he related these problems to the "time" characteristics in the same way that he discusses the "spatial" traits of the same problem, in rural and urban controversy.

In the first part the basic theoretical consideration of religion is seen by Hoults as the result of "social life in the aggregate" (p. 383), interacting with the *secular* aspect of society. The nature of this interaction implies that religion is an independent variable; the patterns, however, between religion and society are more or less dependent variables, developed on the principle of socio-cultural compatibility.

After studying such men as Parsons, Simmel, or others we see interaction as a reaction based on meeting with something else either *out* and/or *inside* the acting person or group. Interaction is designed to resolve a divergent dualism; it is a way of achieving some kind of unity, even if it be through the annihilation of one of the poles. In this case it would be religious or non-

religious spheres of human life in which the individual or group is able to meet the "subject of belief." It means that the interaction is a result of a "meeting"; it is intentionality. The interaction helps to build or destroy the culture or the cult using the reason and/or the faith of humanity as a tool. This conceptual separation of the interaction is integrated into society, wherein the church or community acts in its own way. Worship is expressed through ritual, doctrine, and mores. The community knows also civic order, law, and folkways. These aspects describe the spheres wherein the sublimation of knowledge of the human individual or group is able to fix a meeting which is necessary for social coherence and symbolism for the ingroups. The aspect of sublimation of the religious and/or non-religious meeting is made more consciously by an individual, who is able to rationalize his own meeting. We call these persons "mediators" and this concept will cover the priest and the leader as representatives of the religious and non-religious spheres of human life.

The whole religious and non-religious world is included in sociology of religion. Discovering the interest and the borders between the components is the task of a new method able to handle structure, function, and behavior. That is the phenomenological method founded and introduced by Brentano, and Husserl and further developed by Merleau Ponty, Sartre, Heidegger, and others. This new method is missed in Houlst's book. However we agree with the general estimate of this book by Professor Goode in his foreword, in which he characterizes it as a "timely, synthetical, close analysis of interrelations, both harmonies and conflicts, of religion with major social institutions, and as a good step in the right direction."

ERNEST M. GAJÁRY KUHINKA
Dickinson College

ARCHAEOLOGY

The Excavations at Herodian Jericho, 1951. Conducted by the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. By JAMES B. PRITCHARD, assisted by SHERMAN E. JOHNSON and GEORGE C. MILES. *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vol. XXXII-XXXIII. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1958. xiii + 58 pages (text and tables) plus 66 plates (including plans). \$7.50.

This is the report of the 1951 excavations of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem at Herodian Jericho conducted by Professors F. V. Winnett and James B. Pritchard, then Director and Annual Professor of the School respectively. The contributions of others are fully acknowledged. The primary objective was study of a single structure, although the report includes an analysis of earlier pottery fragments found chiefly in a test trench approximately 48 meters from the building being studied.

The structure, rectangular in shape, consisted of a large, colonnaded court with rooms on two sides and a smaller court and further rooms on the third side. Two baths, with the necessary water works, and a hypocaust were included in the building. Similar structures outside Palestine from the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. suggest that this was a gymnasium. Materials for dating indicate construction during the reign of Herod the Great and use possibly as late as the time of Herod Agrippa I. If the identification stands, this is the first gymnasium to have been discovered in Palestine.

Pottery fell into three periods: Chalcolithic-Early Bronze, Roman, and Islamic. A separate study of the first is provided, and the fact that only Roman pottery was found at three places in the structure where there was the least disturbance suggests this period for the building of the structure. This

is supported by coins. Those found fell into two groups separated by a three-hundred year period represented by only 6 out of the 319 coins found. The early group began with Herod the Great and extended through the reign of Herod Agrippa I. Thus, the dating of the structure is remarkably well assured, with some indications of minor rebuilding and use in the Islamic period.

Dr. Pritchard's confessed special interest in the pottery of the Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age led to a disproportionate amount of attention being paid to the pottery of this period, fragments of which were scattered lightly throughout the building but were concentrated heavily in an area uncovered by the test trench. A study of this material in the context of Late Chalcolithic-Early Bronze artifacts found elsewhere, however, proved rewarding. A break in the occupation of Jericho has been posited on the basis of too great a jump in the pottery chronology between strata VIII and VII. The objects found by Dr. Pritchard fitted into that break, giving rise to the possibility that this site, close by ancient Jericho, was occupied when Jericho was not.

This is not the report of a major expedition, yet the results of the season's work are suggestive. The text is clear, detailed and precise. An adequate photographic record of the excavation seems to have been kept, for the plates admirably illustrate the text.

This reviewer, it must be admitted, is still somewhat nonplussed by the disproportionate attention given the Chalcolithic-Early Bronze pottery. One should, of course, report what one finds, but did the materials recovered justify seven and a half pages for the early materials, two and a half for the Roman, and none for the Islamic? It is also to be regretted that Dr. Pritchard's discussion of this early material should appear in a work entitled "Herodian Jericho." Too few students will think of looking here for

significant material on the Late Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age.

JOHN H. OTWELL

Pacific School of Religion

Excavations at Nessana, Volume 3, Non-Literary Papyri. By CASPER J. KRAEMER, JR. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958. xxiii + 355 pages, 8 plates. \$7.50.

This is the second to appear of the proposed three volumes which will report the excavations of the Colt Archaeological Expedition at Auja el-Hafir in the Negeb. Volume 2, which was published in 1950, contained the literary papyri; the present Volume 3 presents the non-literary papyri. In reporting the date when the papyri were found there appears to be some discrepancy, for Volume 2 page v puts the discovery in 1937 as does the dust jacket of Volume 3, but on page vii of Volume 3 it is said that the find was made in 1935 and this is supported by the citation on page 3 of a letter of the excavator mentioning at least one of the finds and dated February 15, 1935. The papyri were found in two groups, the first in a storeroom of the Church of Mary Mother of God, the second in a storeroom of the monastery church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, and for the most part are now on permanent loan to the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City. Not a few of the documents bear exact dates, and almost all appear to belong to the period of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Apart from the literary and religious texts already published, the papyri include contracts, marriage and divorce agreements, tax bills and receipts, letters, and many other writings. Recognizable groups include documents on economic transactions involving soldiers from the camp at Nessana, and a considerable body of church records and communications. Since most papyri found hitherto have come from Egypt, this relatively large col-

lection from Palestine is welcome. The materials are edited and discussed most excellently and thoroughly, and the form of presentation, which ingeniously avoids footnotes, leaves little to be desired. While the editor speaks of making the work clear to non-specialists, there are matters such as the dating systems which, for such readers, could have been explained more fully. Among items of interest are a letter connected with an organized protest against high taxes; and a burial prayer with the words: "Give repose to the soul of Thy servant. . . . Thou knowest there will never live any man who will not sin." The book is handsome in format and remarkable in price: twice the size of Volume 2, it is issued at the same price.

JACK FINEGAN

Pacific School of Religion

HISTORY OF ART

The Beginnings of Christian Art. By D. TALBOT RICE. New York: Abingdon Press, 1957. 223 pages + 4 color plates, 48 black and white plates and 21 line illustrations. \$7.95.

This is an excellent introduction to the history of art (primarily mosaics, paintings and ivories) during the early Christian era in both East and West. It covers the period when, according to the author, "the early medieval outlook" prevailed. This view he finds changed in the West after the Romanesque began to yield to the Gothic around 1100 and in the Byzantine world only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It treats a field to which art historians have devoted enormous energy in recent decades, publishing many monumental works on it. But very few of them have been really lucid to those outside the discipline. Rice's present work is one of the few happy exceptions which are quite accessible to the diligent layman: well organized, detailed enough

to make points clear without losing the beginner in masses of items, supplied with simple—but not insulting—explanations of issues under debate, profusely illustrated (unfortunately without enough color plates because of the economic facts of life), and giving enough bibliographical suggestions to help the interested without discouraging anyone. The author himself is one of the masters of this field.

Since this is essentially a work in art history dealing principally with the development of style, it will be reviewed as such by those who are competent to do so in journals devoted to that subject. The present notice is concerned with the volume as an aid to students of the history of Christianity—and it has great significance for them.

The assistance it can give them is of several sorts. First, it makes available vivid and specific illustrations of ideas, situations and movements already familiar. For example, the term and the notion of a "Carolingian Renaissance" are familiar enough. But those whose introduction to medieval Christianity was limited to study of ecclesiastical institutions and theology are likely to have very little content for the term. Such persons may find its visible substance here. Again, the difference between the ethos of Byzantine and Western Christians is illuminated again and again.

Secondly, Rice's book will considerably help those striving—perhaps belatedly—for some understanding and appreciation of Eastern Christendom as well as of the period in the West which increasing numbers are choosing not to call "the dark ages."

Thirdly, thinking about Christian history from the standpoint of Christian art raises some interesting questions. One might, for instance, ponder the significance of the fact (so clear in the art objects) that the Ottonian court was much influenced by the Byzantine. Or, how is it possible for "humanist" renaissances in East and West to

reveal such different ways of expressing similar feelings?

This is a splendid book for the library of the reader of this journal.

Incidentally, this is the American edition of the work first brought out by Hodder and Stoughton in England with somewhat ampler margins and a slightly less attractive cover for 42 shillings or \$5.88 at current exchange. Apparently the body of the American edition has been printed and sewn in England. And a fine printing job it is. Errata were noted only on p. 52 (where fig. 7 is dated sixth century while the text referring to it gives late fifth) and p. 74 (where the reference to the Trivulzio ivory mentions three Marys whereas the illustrations of the work in question show only two).

CURTIS W. R. LARSON

Queens College

EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Philosophy of Education for Our Time. By FREDERICK MAYER. New York: Odyssey Press, 1958. x + 245 pages. \$3.00.

This book is divided into two parts: The Foundations and Philosophy in Action. Part I (Chs. I to VII) surveys the history and foundations of educational philosophy (predominantly American), concentrating on Jefferson, Emerson, and Dewey. Part II (Chs. VIII to XVI) elaborates a philosophy of education as the author believes it should express itself. Such themes as the following receive attention: Aspiration and Conduct, Creativity, Ideals of Teaching, Moral Values, Goals, Good Life, Problem of Truth, Man, Freedom, Culture. A final chapter (XVII) is a *Credo* of thirty-six items.

It would be easy to riddle this work with secondary criticisms. Suppose we mention

3 old friends of yours . . .

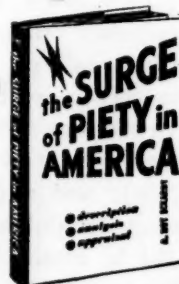
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A. ROY ECKARDT *Head of Dept. of Religion, Lehigh U.*

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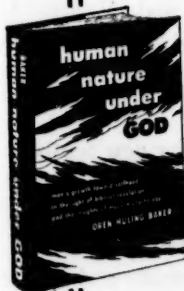
OREN HULING BAKER

Dean, Colgate Rochester Divinity School

HUMAN NATURE UNDER GOD

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WAYNE E. OATES

Professor, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

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some. The author often has a subtly oracular style, even pontifical. He attempts an Olympian survey with some odd results occasionally. Names are freely dropped into his work and oftentimes in "bunches" or they are indiscriminately grouped. Also a whole group will be used to illustrate a point which is sometimes inaccurate, and which often would not represent all the authors in the same way. Many names are summarily classified, or even judged, with amazing brevity and seeming finality. He hardly has a good word for Reinhold Niebuhr, and nothing but good words for Epicurus.

Yet, the book is interesting to read, all the way from its brief and naive statements ("The 3-R's are not the kingdom of heaven in education," p. 155), to its "Olympian sweeps" ("The aim of such an educational philosophy is to help create another renaissance: *Athens slightly Americanized*. We certainly have the material resources and the technological strength; *all we need is the determination, and the moral vigor, and a collective enthusiasm for the possibilities of education*" p. 193). There are brilliant touches; a few excellent summaries (e.g., of Hemingway's *Farewell to Arms*; Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*; and Wright's *Native Son*); and a flood of suggestions, *obiter dicta*, fruitful leads, and reminders. On p. 131 he speaks of the values of symbolism, but on p. 178, of certain objections to it. On p. 94 he speaks of the bad effects of the idealist philosophy on education, and on p. 191 of its good effects. On p. 138 he criticizes survey courses, but he "surveys" person after person (thinkers and writers) in a few sentences, perhaps only one. To be sure, the context has to be taken into account.

His point of view is "romantic pragmatism." On p. 193, he gives a concise summary of the educational philosophy of this book, with its emphases: centrality of the teacher; importance of liberal education; reminder that we learn best through insight;

optimism; belief in the creative spark in every individual; advocacy of a core program all the way through; stress on culture as a necessity rather than a luxury; and emphasis on the moral implications of education (which he compares with what Schweitzer does in his *Ethics and Civilization*). And by this time he has elaborated that educational philosophy of which he had said earlier that it should clarify the function of schools, illuminate the basic areas of knowledge, and frame the objectives and goals toward which our educational system should move (p. vii).

Perhaps it is intended as a textbook, with its sixty pages of "helps" (12 of bibliographies, 17 for a Glossary of Names, 6 for a Glossary of Terms, 8 of Questions and Topics for Discussion, and 17 pages of Indexed material). And in the remaining 180 pages or so of text, there is a degree of "compression" that is either challenging or fantastic—but interesting, readable, and charmingly fallible. If it is not a "must," it is at least a "don't miss it."

W. GORDON ROSS

Berea College

BIBLICAL HEBREW

A Beginner's Handbook to Biblical Hebrew.

By JOHN H. MARKS and VIRGIL M. ROGERS. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. xiv + 174 pages. \$4.50.

There is a genuine need for new textbooks capable of introducing to serious students the original languages of the Bible with both clarity and depth. This book by Marks and Rogers (of Princeton University and Princeton Theological Seminary, respectively) will certainly help supply the need as far as the Hebrew of the Old Testament is concerned.

The format is unusually attractive for a book produced by a varitype-offset process, even if irregular spacing necessitated by the justification of lines is sometimes disturbing.

The pages are neat; the paradigms and tables are well laid out. In short, the book as a book is delightful to use.

The authors have combined deductive and inductive method in a practical way. Material is introduced systematically, slowly and clearly enough that a good student could use the book for self-instruction. Illustrations are from the first chapters of Genesis, and the student immediately begins to grapple with the text of Genesis and to learn its vocabulary.

The presentation of grammatical material without the cluttering effect of exercises in the main sections helps the work to be useful not only as a textbook, but also (as the title affirms) a handbook. However, exercises in the recognition of verbs and verbals are provided, and the student is occasionally challenged to consult the more advanced grammars.

Complete paradigms are included, but especially commendable are the many tables introduced into the body of the text. The beginning student will be helped particularly

by the "in pause" forms and the extensive tables of suffixes to various verb and noun forms.

It is inevitable that a few questions need to be raised about isolated points. Occasionally "rules" should be further qualified. Since shewas are not full vowels the statement that the "six [Begadkepat] consonants are spirants . . . when they are preceded by a vowel" (p. 5) should add "or a vocal shewa." The notice that "all passive participles have qāmeš in the ultima" (p. 36) leaves the qal passive participle out of consideration. The introduction of the idea of the "shewa medium" is questionable (p. 11). The use without explanation of paradigm forms of the infinitives which differ from those in the advanced grammars may prove confusing to students.

These few weaknesses do not alter the basic excellence of this work. *A Beginner's Handbook* deserves to be tested in many classrooms.

CHARLES L. KESSLER

Garrett Biblical Institute

Book Notices

THE BIBLE

The Essence of the Bible. By PAUL CLAUDEL.
New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 120
pages. \$3.00.

This work of one of the best known, modern, French, Catholic poets, who died only in 1955, consists of a series of six articles, all of which deal directly or indirectly with the Bible, one in particular, *Fulgens Corona*, being an address delivered in 1954 to French seminarians on the Pope's Letter on the Blessed Virgin. In it he reveals himself as a sincere lover of the Sacred Scriptures, from which he seeks principally to extract the figurative or symbolic meaning. Unfortunately, he goes so far as to lessen the importance of the literal meaning, and to oppose the labors of scholars, who aim to establish the original Hebrew and Greek text.

Claudel had great reverence for the Vulgate and could not bring himself to understand how Catholic text critics, though inspired by Pope Pius XII, insisted upon recourse to the earlier and textually better readings. The account of his controversy with Father Steinmann about the value of critically established texts and of the literal meaning of the Bible, could well have been omitted, for it hardly contributes anything to his literary reputation.

There are, however, as one might expect from a poet of Claudel's stature, some beautiful pages in the book, in which he lays bare his simple, childlike acceptance of the story of salvation, as told in the traditional version he had ever at hand. His love for his fellow man can be said to be derived from his appreciation of what the Bible means when it speaks of God as our Father, and of ourselves as His children. His interpretations are often quite unusual, due most likely to his poetical rather than scholarly, approach.

His French style is difficult, which probably accounts for the awkwardness, in some places, of the English translation, and for the errors which have crept into the text. The reviewer found several misprints, which might have been avoided.

M. P. STAPLETON

St. John's Seminary

CHRISTOLOGY

The Meaning of Christ. By ROBERT CLYDE JOHNSON. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958. 96 pages. \$1.00.

This first book by the author is designed to introduce the lay reader to the difficult and complex subject of Christology in the Layman's Theological Library. Given the limitations of space and the lack of theological training of the intended reader, the author has done a remarkably good job. The lucid and vivid style, the expressive titles and phrases, and the apt illustrations make for easy and enjoyable reading and arouse the hope that we will be hearing more from the author.

Two principal questions should be asked about the degree to which the author has achieved his purpose. First, does he communicate with the layman: does he avoid the use of technical terms or does he explain them when he does use them, does he reduce the many facets, problems and issues of Christology to few enough basic points for the layman to understand? Next, is he at the same time theologically faithful: does he maintain the tensions and paradoxes of Christology, does he make any serious omissions in his effort to write for the layman? With very few exceptions the answer to both questions is "Yes." The author has meticulously avoided the excessive use of technical terms, and with only one possible exception has explained the terms which he introduces (the use of "Christological," p. 70, might leave the reader puzzled even though it is equated implicitly with the last phrase of the sentence, "the meaning of Christ").

As to content, only one omission and only one weak point were found. Although its omission might be justified, the absence of even a mention of the Virgin Birth will probably leave some laymen disappointed. Since this book was written primarily for laymen and since for so many laymen the Virgin Birth is a source of confusion and concern, it seems that a treatment of this topic should have been included. The only serious weakness in the discussion of Christology was in the treatment of the Resurrection, and this weakness is one of brevity. In a chapter of over twenty pages on the Cross there are only two short paragraphs on the Resurrection (p. 46), and in a

chapter of almost twenty pages on the Incarnation there are again only two short paragraphs on the Resurrection (p. 79). There is no discussion of the Resurrection in the concluding chapter, "The Gospel of God" (but the phrase "life, death, and resurrection" is used three times).

REESE E. GRIFFIN

Wofford College

THEOLOGY

Barriers to Belief. By NORMAN F. LANGFORD. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958. 96 pages. \$1.00.

Norman F. Langford, Editor and Chief of Curriculum for the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, has made good use of his experience as pastor, teacher, and writer in *Barriers to Belief*, a Laymen's Theological Library publication. In the Foreword, Robert McAfee Brown, General Editor of the series, comments that "the religious market is full of books for 'the intelligent laymen.' Some are an insult to his intelligence. Others are covertly written for professional theologians" (p. 7). Dr. Langford's book does not deserve either criticism. Perceptive without being pedantic, it should prove to be of real help to laymen. While it will not add to a theologian's well-stored mind, it will serve as a stimulating refresher.

There are many barriers to belief. In such a slim volume, only six are dealt with—miracles, the divinity of Jesus, the Kingdom of God, predestination (an appropriate Presbyterian preoccupation!), heaven and hell, and the question, "Does it matter what we believe at all?"

Let us see, as an example, how the divinity of Jesus is treated. "Some have thought that if we only abandon our claim that Christ is God incarnate, we would have no more problems in understanding him" (p. 28). But this clashes with the impression Jesus made on his followers. To them, he was more than a rather extraordinary man. Nevertheless, he *was* human. With cogency and coherence, Dr. Langford deftly immunizes his readers against Docetism, ancient or modern. The clue to the God-man mystery is found in Phil. 2:5-10. Jesus was not "purely human" nor "divine," but both. When he "emptied himself, taking the form of a servant," he became in a very real sense a child of his time, pre-scientific, limited in knowledge, and capable of growth. "He faced every situation with no mistake in judgment, and infallibly charted his own course as he went along" (p. 39).

The discussion of the divinity of Jesus (and some of the other topics in this book) could have been

improved with a more careful use of terms. The author uses Jesus and Christ, divinity and deity interchangeably. The conservative theology expressed will not convince everyone. But the book should help its readers become their own theologians, the primary objective of *Barriers to Belief*.

C. MILO CONNICK

Whittier College

The Strong Comfort of God. By ERNEST LEE STOFFEL. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1958. 159 pages. \$3.50.

This is the kind of book which should find its way soon into a paperback edition. It should be read by every Christian whether or not he subscribes to the author's Presbyterian theology. The book gives strong evidence that its author has had true Christian experience whether or not he has correctly analyzed and interpreted it. The important thing is for the readers to catch a "whiff" of what is meant by the *experience* of Christian redemption so that they will seek it for themselves; and when they have so experienced it they will be more able to judge Dr. Stoffel's description and analysis of divine forgiveness and eternal life.

The author has divided the work in three parts: (1) The Strong Assurance, (2) The Strong Discipline, and (3) The Strong Command. Each part is divided into four chapters which lead the reader step by step from his "lost estate" to his "redeemed life." The style of the author reminds one frequently of the Fourth Gospel, e.g., familiar words take on symbolic dimensions as the reader catches the spiritual overtones of what the author is seeking to impart. And it is in this aspect of his writing that many readers will "feel" *at home* and yet *not comprehend* the Good News of Jesus Christ in hard scientific terms. Perhaps the Gospel *has to be* portrayed poetically but the same message needs desperately to be stated in pragmatic terms also.

This is a delightful presentation of orthodox (or should I add "neo-orthodox") Christianity. The staunch Christian whose creedal thought is important will find himself nodding his head with joyful approval. Those Christians who have had a vital life-changing experience of redemption will find themselves agreeing frequently with the author's successful attempts to describe the experience of the average Christian. Even more liberal devotees of the faith who may rebel at the Presbyterian terms and traditional explanations will find the book fruitful for a restudy of the faith which can redeem the world even in this insecure and fretful age.

IRA JAY MARTIN, 3RD

Berea College

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Lands Between. By JOHN S. BADEAU. New York: Friendship Press, 1958. vi + 138 pages. Cl. \$2.95. Pa. \$1.75.

New Voices, Old Worlds. By PAUL GEREN. New York: Friendship Press, 1958. viii + 166 pages. Cl. \$2.95. Pa. \$1.50.

A Tool in His Hand. By ANN M. HARRISON. New York: Friendship Press, 1958. 170 pages. Cl. \$2.75. Pa. \$1.50.

These three small volumes have a number of things in common. They are published by Friendship Press and they are about the Middle East. The political machinery of that area has recently been giving out ominous creakings and groanings, and, since the squeaking wheel gets the grease, there has been a flood of books designed to inform the American reading public about this vital area. These vary all the way from highly specialized political and historical studies to someone's reminiscences of a two weeks' trip to the Holy Land. The books under review belong to neither extreme. They are non-technical studies, written for the beginner in Middle Eastern affairs. They share a common interest in the impact of Christianity on Islam and, therefore, have a strong missionary flavor, and their authors are good writers and competent scholars.

The order in which the books are listed in the heading is not intended to be a value judgement upon them, but to indicate the logical order in which they should be read. Mr. Badeau's work belongs to the genre known as "background" books. Its author has limited himself to the Middle East since the coming of Islam, and has consequently shortened his historical perspective. *New Voices, Old Worlds* is a collection of missionary biographies, really thumbnail sketches of notable Middle Eastern Christians and the Western missionaries who brought the Gospel to them. The third work is a full-scale biography of one of these missionaries, the distinguished medical man, Dr. Paul W. Harrison, written by his devoted wife. A reading of the three books together is a real movement from the general to the particular.

The author of *The Lands Between* has the difficult task of summarizing a mass of complex and diverse material in small compass. He does this in an admirably systematic and concise way, dealing with the geography and population, the politics, and the religion of the Middle East in the three parts of the book. The reader is brought face to face with the frightening complexity of the cultural and political problems confronting the Middle East, and this is not done critically, but with sympathetic un-

derstanding. No answers are offered, although the author clearly regards Christianity and American Democracy as the most hopeful paths to be followed. The book is an excellent and comprehensive introduction to the modern Middle East.

The biographical sketches of *New Voices, Old Worlds* are well selected to give a cross section of the Protestant Missionary enterprise in the Middle East with the interest centered on people rather than ideas. Momentous events, such as the massacre of the Armenians by the Turks, and the coming of the refugees to Palestine, pass in review, but often so briefly as to appear faintly unreal.

The biography of Dr. Harrison is first of all the story of a man who commands respect and admiration both for his personal qualities, and for the work which he accomplished, and, second, a vivid picture of the Arab world as seen through the eyes of two devoted and understanding Christian missionaries.

The Arab-Israeli problem is capable of arousing such intense emotions that much of the current literature on the Middle East is little more than propaganda for one side or the other. All of these books are free from this defect. Their propaganda interest is the justification of Christian missions in Arab lands, although this is never offensively brought to the fore. But it is the Arab lands, rather than Israel, which really interest all three authors, and they have a genuine affection for and understanding of the Arab and his ways, which is refreshing to find in American publications.

LAWRENCE E. TOOMBS

*The Theological School,
Drew University*

Middle East Pilgrimage. By R. PARK JOHNSON. New York: Friendship Press, 1958. 164 pages, and map. \$2.95.

An amazing amount of information concerning the Middle East, its political, social and economic as well as religious life, is packed into this little volume. Designed primarily for mission study, and giving major attention to the religious situation in this area, both in Islam and in Christianity in its Eastern form, as found in this part of the world, a quick reading of its 164 pages gives one the feeling of the restless stirring of Arab nationalism, the bitter rivalries between Jews and Arabs, the constant threat of Communism seeking access to and control over the rich oil and mineral deposits of the area, and of the vast importance of what happens there to the whole world. For those who do not have the time for reading longer more

detailed studies, I can warmly recommend *Middle East Pilgrimage*.

CHARLES S. BRADEN

Dallas, Texas

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

The Theological Idea of the University. By GEORGE H. WILLIAMS. New York: Commission on Higher Education, National Council of Churches 1958. vi + 95 pages. \$1.00.

What Is a Christian College? Edited by DAVID B. SAGESER. New York: Commission on Higher Education, National Council of Churches 1958. 64 pages.

With the revival of interest on the part of many of the Protestant denominations in their colleges has come an equally important interest on the part of the college to serve better the churches which sponsor them. Hence, the publication of these two booklets the former of which is a revision of Dr. Williams' "Excursus" on the Harvard Divinity School, and the latter is a revision and rearrangement of reports in preparation for the National Conference on that subject at Oberlin College in 1954. Although the Oberlin Conference has been superseded by the Conference at Drake University in June 1958 on "The Vocation of the Christian College," these two booklets serve to prepare a person for the comprehension and appreciation of the more recent study.

If one has the patience he should read Williams' revision first. The scholarly detail will give him the idea of the university as held in medieval Europe, during the Reformation, and as transplanted to New England in the founding of Harvard University. According to this booklet, the university plays the prophet's role in the three-fold office of Christ, prophet, priest, and king. Dr. Williams emphasizes the relative independence of the church (priest), the state (king), and the university (prophet). He states, "In many fields there is no good purpose served by encumbering knowledge either with an American or a specifically Christian label" (p. 94). Still, the discovery of truth itself, a unified field of truth, is related to the professor's membership in the three communities, the church, the university, and the free society.

The peril which besets any discussion of the Christian college is how to reconcile the freedom to seek truth to the limitations of the Christian tradition. Any tradition or philosophy of education seems to face the same dilemma. The important point is to know the limiting point of view. The distinctive characteristics of the Christian

search for truth is clearly stated in *What Is a Christian College?* Its summary is: "The distinctive mark of the Christian college is that it finds its integrating faith and philosophy in the Christian religion" (p. 13).

Then follow the details necessary to spell out the meaning of the Christian college, roughly gathered under discussions of the curriculum, the faculty, the administration, and the students. The listing of additional problems for faculty study and unreconciled differing points of view enhance the value of this publication for continued discussion of this most important topic.

E. M. McKOWN

Evansville College

MISCELLANEOUS

Religious Coöperation in State Universities: An Historical Sketch. By SEYMOUR A. SMITH. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1957. xiii + 109 pages. \$1.00.

This volume was prepared as part of the celebration of the Centennial of Student Religious Work at the University of Michigan. The author, formerly professor of Religion and Higher Education at Yale Divinity School and now President of Stephens College, is particularly well qualified for this task.

Building on the basis laid by Dr. Shedd's two historical works, Smith begins with the early development of Protestant coöperation. He depicts both coöperation and conflict between denominational groups and the Y's on such pioneering campuses as the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, and Cornell.

Expanding enrollments, coupled with the disproportionate increase of Jewish and Catholic students, eventually made interreligious coöperation necessary. In this regard, special credit is given to the pioneering efforts of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Religious Education Association.

This study deals primarily with extra-curricular religious activity, seen in relation to such developments as campus religious councils and the appointment of coordinators of religious affairs. Such perennial problems are dealt with as the difficulty of getting denominational groups to spare leadership and energy from their own programs in order to devote it to cooperative activities. To a lesser extent, attention is paid to the growth of curricular programs through Bible Chairs and Schools of Religion.

A recent development affecting interreligious coöperation is seen to be an increasing caution on

the part of Protestant groups as each tends to place greater emphasis upon its distinctive heritage. A positive development is that all three of the major faiths are doing more to formulate definite principles concerning the nature and extent of the united programs in which they can engage.

This reviewer was impressed by the influence of personalities upon the historical development of interreligious coöperation—men like O. D. Foster, M. Willard Lampe, C. F. Kent, Richard Edwards, and David Porter. Also to be noted is the disruptive effect of war upon campus religious life. Finally, one is impressed by the extent to which state universities support campus religious life, particularly by supplying buildings and by paying the salaries of coördinators of religious activities and administrative directors of Schools of Religion.

PHILLIPS MOULTON

Simpson College

The Place of Women in the Church. By CHARLES C. RYRIE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958. xi + 155 pages. \$2.95.

Charles C. Ryrie is associate Professor of Systematic Theology at Dallas Theological Seminary. *The Place of Women in the Church* traces the position of women in the attitude of Jesus and in references to women throughout the New Testament, and concludes with an extensive discussion of the place of women in the writings of the Church Fathers through the third century.

That the position of women was greatly raised by Jesus when he taught women, outlawed divorce and polygamy, and allowed women to minister to him of their substance is stressed by Ryrie. He

deduces from the fact that none of the twelve apostles were women that Jesus did not want women to be leaders in the church. However, Ryrie recalls "that Paul not only commanded that things be done decently and in order but also that they be done," and permitted "qualified women" to serve in emergency situations, adding, "women must be cautioned against continuing in such work after there are trained men available for the job."

Ryrie says that no order of deaconesses appears until the third century when we suddenly find them a well-recognized group with the specific ministries of visiting the sick, teaching other women the responsibilities of the Christian life, and helping at baptisms by anointing the women candidates for baptism because, according to the ancient document, "it is not fitting that women should be seen by men."

Ryrie ends the book by saying: "What is the ideal of woman? What could we call the complete development and full blossoming of woman's life? . . . Those who share this author's view of inspiration will answer it by saying that in the inspired writings we have the mind of God concerning the full development of women. And this will mean subordination and honor in the home, silence and helpfulness in the church, according to the pattern of the New Testament. At least that ought to be the answer of all who believe in the divine inspiration and authority of the Scriptures. . . ."

The Place of Women in the Church is a heavily annotated source book with a subject index and Scripture index and extensive quotations from pertinent passages in the Church Fathers.

RACHEL H. KING

Northfield School For Girls

Paperbacks

The Absurdity of Christianity and Other Essays. By ARCHIBALD ALLAN BOWMAN. Edited, with an Introduction, by Charles W. Hendel. New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1958. xxxiii + 62 pages. \$.75.

Princeton's distinguished Scottish philosopher of the 1920's was an eloquent apologist for Christian theism. These four essays provide a profound and articulate statement of faith that ranks with the best theological writing of the present.

Religious Drama 2: Mystery and Morality Plays. Selected and Introduced by E. MARTIN BROWNE. New York: Meridian Books, 1958. 317 pages. \$1.45.

This superb addition to our now huge shelf of paperbacks contains twenty mystery plays, half of them from the York cycle which Mr. Browne revived with great success in 1951, and the morality play "Everyman." An historical introduction, an annotated bibliography, and a chapter of advice to the potential producer of the plays, enhance the already great worth of the book.

The Sermons of John Donne. Selected and Introduced by THEODORE A. GILL. New York: Meridian Books, 1958. 288 pages. \$1.35.

John Donne speaks as meaningfully to our time as does Kierkegaard, asserts Editor Gill. A stimulating introduction and nine exciting sermons by Donne support the thesis most persuasively. The sermons are from the now definitive Simpson-Potter edition.

A History of Philosophy. By WILHELM WINDELBAND. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958. xix + 741 pages. In 2 vols. Each \$1.75.

A reprint of the standard work, at half the hard-bound price.

Religion and Culture. By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. New York: Meridian Books, 1958. 225 pages. \$1.25. Reprint.

If ill health does not prevent his coming, Dawson will be Harvard Divinity School's first Roman

Catholic professor. This book is the first series of his Gifford Lectures. The problem of the title is focused, with brilliance and great learning, on such topics as science, law, mysticism, priesthood, and prophecy. The non-Christian religions provide the primary field of enquiry. Christianity is dealt with in the second series, now available in an Image paperback.

Religion and Health. SIMON DONIGER, ed. New York: Association Press Reflection Book, 1958. 127 pages. \$.50.

Two psychiatrists and such theologians as Paul Tillich and Wayne Oates contribute to this brief but effective introduction to an area of pressing contemporary interest.

JAMES M. WARD

Syracuse University

THE BIBLE

Modern Man Looks at the Bible. By WILLIAM NEIL. New York: Association Press, 1958. 128 pages. \$.50.

This is a revision of a book first published in Great Britain under the title, *The Plain Man Looks at the Bible*. The new title is more exact, for the view of the Bible taken here is distinctly that of modern man.

The first half of the book repeats in an interesting manner ideas which have had numerous recent statements, insisting, as it does, that the Bible must be accepted for what it really is, "an interpretation of life and an invitation to creative living," as these are mediated through the history and faith of Israel and their fulfillment in Christ and the Church.

In the latter half of the book the author insists that, while the church must make sure that it does not divorce the Bible message from its historical basis, still she must restate its essential truth in thought forms understandable by the modern man.

This book packs much in little space. Teachers of Bible can well recommend it to students as an excellent statement of an intelligent approach to the Scriptures. Those who fear that biblical criticism and scientific study have largely destroyed

the Bible message may well find out here how mistaken they are.

J. ALLEN EASLEY

Wake Forest College

The Bible When You Need It Most. By T. OTTO NALL. New York: Association Press, 1958. 127 pages. \$.50.

The editor of the *New Christian Advocate* here presents thirty brief personal meditations based upon scriptural selections for crucial moments in life. He seeks to bring the Bible closer to "every day pleasures and perplexities." These meditations range over subjects such as anger, death, drinking, fear, forgiveness, guilt, happiness, old age, sex, sorrow, work, and worry. The treatment is both interesting and suggestive. Counselors and teachers may well recommend the book to those who need help in relating the Bible to the every day problems of the Christian life.

J. ALLEN EASLEY

Wake Forest College

Moses: The Revelation and the Covenant. By MARTIN BUBER. New York: Harper & Brothers (Torchbook), 1958. (First published in 1946 under the title *Moses*.) 226 pages. \$1.25.

The person and work of Moses become the framework on which Martin Buber hangs twenty-two related essays on the beginning and meaning of Israel's faith. It is good to have this major work of a most influential writer in such readily available form.

Moses is regarded as a character of saga, rather than of either history or myth. Historical events lie behind the record of his life, but in the Bible he is viewed through "an organic and organically creative memory" in "historical wonder." At the burning bush we recognize the initiating God in the duologue of the purpose of God as over against the resistance of man, a recurring theme. The peak of the book is its discussion of the Sinai encounter, including the "Upon Eagle's Wings" speech of God, the formation of the Covenant, and the very suggestive treatment of the decalogue.

The writing of Buber is a strange blend of opposing elements. While fully cognizant of historical scholarship and accepting many of its conclusions, he writes with a kind of impressionistic mysticism. Many authorities are cited, yet he moves with independent individuality, often offering no other proof than his own assertion. Although quite at home in textual excision, he will hold to the older dating of most Pentateuchal traditions. The style is that of rhapsodic interpretation of how God

through Moses revealed himself, made a covenant and shaped a people. For technical exegesis or historical analysis one should go elsewhere (e.g., contrast Buber's discussion of the plagues of Egypt with that of Hort in *Zeitschr. f. d. AT Wissenschaft*, 1957).

Despite the difficulty of style, the book communicates the feel of Israel's faith in a way a much more limpid style could never do. Whether this is Israel's faith at the outset (so Buber) or whether this is Israel in its full maturity (so this reviewer) is beside the point. Frequently this style reminds one of the German *predigt meditationen* which make so much American exposition seem trivial. Buber goes far beyond the narrowness of literalism or rationalism to the richness of the historical event and the tradition in which the community first found its existence. Here we find eloquent expression of many of the current themes in biblical theology expressed by one of the great shapers of current trends.

LIONEL A. WHISTON, JR.

Eden Theological Seminary

Probing the Mind of Jesus. By DRYDEN L. PHELPS and L. EARL WILLMOTT. Privately printed. 80 pages. \$.50.

This paperback is "a study book for Group Discussion (or individual study)." It is composed of text and questions. The text contains sections of Jesus' teachings selected from the Synoptics in the language of today, based mainly on modern English versions. The sections are numbered and titled. The questions are stimulating, searching and relevant for today. The general method is much influenced by the thought and books of H. B. Sharman. This study is limited to the teachings except for a few sections on the events which led to Jesus' death. Copies are obtainable from Prof. Phelps, Berkeley, Calif. or Prof. Willmott, Calgary, Alberta.

DWIGHT M. BECK

Syracuse University

AUGUSTINE

Saint Augustine and His Influence through the Ages. By HENRI MARROU. Translated by Patrick Hepburne-Scott. New York: Harper & Brothers (Torchbook), 1957. 192 pages. \$1.35.

Harper's "Men of Wisdom" series is superbly conceived and—if this book is matched by the others—is executed with distinction. The format is appropriately different and the numerous illustrations relevant and clear. The author of this study

of Augustine is a French church historian and professor at the Sorbonne who has written extensively in the classics, patristics and history of education. For an introduction to Augustine or for a review, for the classroom or pastor's study, this is a worthwhile addition to the Augustinian bookshelf.

There are five simple divisions, and each makes a valuable contribution to the total work. The first is an account of Augustine's life, the second a brief treatment of his writings, and the third a brilliant portrait of the mature man. The fourth section is a collection (by Fr. Edmund Hill) of key passages from Augustine's works, and the last section traces Augustine's influence on subsequent Western thought. Scattered through are five chronological tables on the history of the times and Augustine's life and works.

While Marrou's facts are surely dependable, he sometimes seems to write from a viewpoint for which the reader may wish to make allowance. For example: Manichaeism prevented Augustine "from conceiving a true notion of spirit, and therefore of God" (27f.), and Platonism is "opposed to the authentic Christian view of man" (28); and at the Council of Orange "the supporters of a more authentic interpretation of the goodness of God and His will to save all men" did not fight in vain (151). In these and a few other instances the reader is hard put to it to decide whether he is reading the thoughts of Augustine or Marrou.

Besides a general treatment which is critical, illuminating, and warmly appreciative, Marrou has at least two other strong points. For one, no crass hero worship blinds him to Augustine's weaknesses. "We are tired of those Lives of the Saints like church-repository art, with the Saints all in pink and blue. We like to think they were men like ourselves, with a rough and imperfect nature, which God's grace had hard work to save. What St. Augustine had to overcome is easily seen: it was pride." Other "imperfections" discussed by the author: hastiness and exaggeration.

Secondly, Marrou does Augustine the honor of letting him remain a part of the history of his own times; there is no implication that his thought-forms, for example, must of divine necessity be eternal and unchanging. The African Bishop "poured his thought into the moulds of the problems discussed in his day," and his problems (and hence his solutions) may not be ours.

Yet inevitably Augustine does speak to a substantial part of *our* experience, for no man can read Augustine for long without finding there something of immediate relevance. The forms by which he comes to an understanding of human ex-

perience are so suggestive, and, to one constitutionally equipped for orthodoxy, so helpful, that there is little wonder that Augustine's has been the "standard" formulation, the "correct" interpretation, of all things spiritual.

Perhaps the most striking tribute of all is the fact that his moral treatises are still in pastoral use in the twentieth century. Is it not a commentary both on Augustine's profound insight and on a strange perversity of Western thinking that a man of such impetuous and sensual nature, having had a concubine for fifteen years, with various mistresses before and after, and having spent the last forty years of his life in continent celibacy, should be considered "still the supreme theologian on Christian marriage"?

JAMES L. CHRISTIAN

Simpson College

An Augustine Synthesis. Arranged by ERICH PRZYWARA. New York: Harper & Brothers (Torchbook), 1958. xii + 496 pages. \$1.95.

This Harper Torchbook reprint of Erich Przywara's 1936 selection from the writings of St. Augustine is another indication of the contemporary revival of interest in Augustine's theology, sociology, and ethics. Indeed, here one has "pure" Augustine because Przywara, the German Jesuit, has ruthlessly suppressed use of his own tortured style and polarities in order that Augustine might speak for himself, aided only by careful selection from fifty of his writings and by arrangement into illuminating if somewhat cloudy-mystical synthetic chapters and subdivisions.

The effect of this synthesis on the reader is likely to be an overwhelming impression of the dialectical probity and spiritual profundity of the African saint who is sometimes overpraised and little read. Somewhat curiously, Przywara plays down the *City of God* (not more than twenty pages), and most of his references satisfy Protestant interpreters by treating Christ and the Church together, as "Head and Body."

More emphasis is put upon the encounter of the individual soul with God. As a result, one concludes the book with a vividly contemporary sense of the reality of Augustine's reconciliation of faith and reason, of religion and culture, and of the relation between God's grace and man's responding love. Przywara resists the temptation to produce ponderous synthesis, and as a result the selections invite slow, episodic reading and fruitful thought with the most basic of all post-biblical Christian theologians.

LOWELL H. ZUCK

Eden Theological Seminary

GIBBON

The End of the Roman Empire in the West: The Barbarian Conquests and the Transition to the Middle Ages. By EDWARD GIBBON. The J. B. Bury edition, illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers (Torchbook), 1958. 522 pages. \$1.95.

It is now a hundred and sixty five years since the immortal author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* laid down his ever-industrious pen. *The End of the Roman Empire in the West*, re-published by Harper and Brothers is the climactic section of the Decline and Fall, chapters xxxvi-xliii, and covers the period A.D. 439-594.

One fact became increasingly clear as the reviewer re-read this book: Gibbon's history may have been couched in too antique and old-fashioned phraseology, but his description still has the power to captivate and enthrall. His faults are lack of sympathy, lack of depth, and a certain superficiality which was partly the fault of his times, yet Niebuhr has said his work "will never be excelled."

It should be added that this book is attractive in cover and format, with twenty full-page illustrations, two maps, and an Appendix of forty pages, containing the celebrated notes by the editor, J. B. Bury.

JOHN H. JOHANSEN

Salem College

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

A Handbook of Christian Theology. Edited by MARVIN HALVERSON and ARTHUR A. COHEN. New York: Meridian Books, 1958. 380 pages. \$1.45.

This is a "Living Age Original" paperback containing *Definition Essays on Concepts and Movements of Thought in Contemporary Protestantism*. However, the 101 topics also include articles on Catholicism, Eastern Christianity and Judaism. There are 71 authors, mostly noted men, gathered mainly from American Protestants, with a few Jews and a sprinkling of Europeans. No writer has done more than three articles though professors from Union, Harvard and Yale discuss almost one third of the subjects. The articles generally cover 2-5 pages. It is not clear on what basis a few large denominations or movements were selected for exposition in addition to the theological concepts. This is a handy book for a quick look at the thinking, mostly of Protestant theologians, who write with brevity, clarity and competence.

DWIGHT M. BECK

Syracuse University

The Religious Aspect of Philosophy. By JOSIAH ROYCE. New York: Harper & Brothers (Torchbook), 1958. xxiii + 484 pages. \$1.75.

Josiah Royce (1855-1916) was the principal figure in American idealism (in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries). Like many of his predecessors, beginning with Parmenides in the fifth century B.C., Royce makes logic and reason the ground of knowledge and then extends it to that system of things which we ordinarily call nature. In doing so, Royce passes from logic to existence, and, indeed, from the assurance of infinite knowledge to the reality of infinite being. Nature is thus regarded as a system of ideas in the mind of an Absolute Person, and we know what we know and are what we are because we share in that Absolute Person's experience.

This may sound somewhat abstract and remote from the problems and quests of man and from the true character of the world in which he lives. Yet there is a contemporary ring in this book—Royce's first one—published in 1885. It is due to Royce's awareness of doubt and anxiety as dimensions of human experience. But, unlike the Existentialists of our day, he finds in the close examination of doubt the very foundation of certainty, of eternal Truth and omnipresent Being. Both in morals and in epistemology, it is scepticism that provides the starting-point and leads to a firm assurance.

Royce holds that in the very process of pessimism a supreme ideal is affirmed. This ideal, as Royce formulates it, is as follows: "Insofar as in thee lies, act as if thou wert at once thy neighbor and thyself. Treat these two lives as one life" (p. 149). The ethical ideal demands a reconciliation of conflicting wills, and Royce regards his imperative as the universal principle underlying such a resolution or reconciliation. The imperative is conducive toward the realization that we, my neighbor and I, are aspects of a larger being, and that all of us, mankind everywhere, are aspects of Absolute Being. The task of the moral insight is to bring us closer together in the recognition of our relatedness in the One Unity, in the One Will.

Similarly, Royce perceives in the very act of scepticism, of doubting, the roots of Absolute Truth, and he believes that the possibility of error demonstrates the necessity of such a truth, the postulate of an Infinite Knower in whom all distinctions reside and are harmonized: "The world of life is then what we desired it to be, an organic total; and the individual selves are drops in the ocean of the absolute truth" (p. 441). The religious summation of Royce's idealism is quite clear:

"The highest conceptions that I get from experience of what goodness and beauty are, the noblest life that I can imagine, the completest blessedness that I can think of; all these things are but faint suggestions of a truth that is infinitely realized in the Divine, that knows all truth. Whatever perfection there is suggested in these things, that He must fully know and experience" (p. 480).

The goal of Royce's idealism was "an ultimate reality of infinite worth." This book, much too long and needlessly intricate, nonetheless helps us to catch a glimpse of that "ultimate reality" as Royce envisioned it.

ISRAEL KNOX

New York University

A PRIMER

Denominations—How We Got Them. By STANLEY I. STUBER. New York: Association Press, 1958. 127 pages. \$50.

This paperback *Reflection* book is intended to be a primer for introductory facts about the origins, beliefs and organizations of churches associated with American church history. It is a condensation of *How We Got Our Denominations*, and is very brief. Twenty-seven small pages are used to trace the history of the church from Pentecost to the framing of the Constitution of the United States. In the remainder of the book a few pages of description are then given to the Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Methodists, Lutherans, Unitarians, and Universalists. Half-page sketches are given to the Anabaptists, Christian Scientists, Mormons, Mennonites, Salvation Army, Nazarenes, and a few others. This book is what it professes to be, a simple primer.

CLYDE L. MANSCHRECK

Duke University

ANTHROPOLOGY

The Golden Bough. By SIR JAMES G. FRAZER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958, Volume I. Abridged edition. vii + 864 pages. \$3.95.

Recognized as one of the most important works of the era from the close of the 19th century through the first quarter of the 20th, the amazing wealth of materials, the speculative power of the author and his famous theories regarding magic and the relations of magic, religion and science as modes of human behavior and thought, made every anthropologist and psychologist of religion deal with the theories of *The Golden Bough*. The condensed edition does not lessen amazement at the late author's encyclopedic knowledge of the maze of

ritual behavior, folkways, and myths of every segment of mankind up and down and across the globe. What gives especial significance to his work was the fact that he was also a classicist who had pursued his search into all the pages of the ancient Greek and Roman writers, and in addition put under tribute the materials from other ancient civilizations. This vast mass of materials, seemingly so diverse and local, is whipped into order and reveals surprisingly deep-down similarities under the touch of the author's fertile and bold speculative mind. While recognizing that he is resorting to speculation, he nevertheless sweeps forward with great confidence in his theoretical constructions. In his flowing and sonorous literary style he represents the 19th century; in his confidence in science and the occasional revelations of his rationalistic assumptions he also speaks the language of his era. This is somewhat qualified in poetic fashion in the closing pages of this revision penned in 1922, but it does not alter the impression of the total work.

To Frazer we are still indebted for his interpretation and delineation of the imitative and sympathetic types of magic. His distinction of the contrasting attitudes of magic and religion, magic as coercing unseen powers and religion as supplicating unseen powers, still commends itself, though his rigid scheme of the ascending series of behavior, first magical then religious then scientific, no longer commands assent. His case that under the literary myths lay cruder and more savage religious and magical practices, and that beneath the folk festivals and traditional practices of European peoples which prevailed so widely even very recently lay grimmer memories of human sacrifices in the ever-recurrent effort of more primitive men to preserve and assist the processes of fertility and food, is persuasively made.

LYMAN V. CADY

The College of Wooster

Origins of Culture and Religion in Primitive Culture, Parts I and II of *Primitive Culture*. By Sir EDWARD BURNET TYLOR. New York: Harper & Brothers (Torchbook), 1958. Part I: xvi + 416 pages. \$1.75. Part II: xviii + 539 pages. \$1.95.

In his Introduction to the Torchbook edition of Tylor's *Primitive Culture* Paul Radin observes that not only did Tylor practically create modern anthropology from its foundations, but also that among the various books by eminent authorities on the subject, none has stood the test of time so well as this. "No legitimate anthropology," adds Radin, "can do without his doctrine of animism,

his theory of adhesions, and his concept of survivals."

The reason why Tylor's work has outlasted and superseded in interest the books of investigators like Frazer and Lévy-Bruhl, is not hard to find. He saw a culture not in terms of its disconnected activities, but as a living organism which in its turn was part of the unity of nature. He had the spirit of Darwin and Huxley and saw human institutions in terms of their evolutionary growth. In the preface to the second edition of this work, however, Tylor accounts for the omission of any reference to Darwin or Spencer by observing that the material "is arranged on its own lines" and has no direct contact with the works of these eminent observers of life and nature. In common with the great Victorians, Tylor's outlook was vast and panoramic. Later anthropologists have become specialists in small departments of their subjects and lack his grand sweep.

What made Tylor's work fascinating reading for an earlier generation is that he regarded human cultures as manifestations of human thoughts and ideals, and the ideals which run like a common chord through the lives of primitive people he attributed to "the uniform action of uniform causes." Cultural gradations, he said, "may be regarded as stages of development of evolution, each the outcome of previous history and about to do its proper part in shaping the history of the future." Tylor was not a university man, but he was well tutored, well traveled, and possessed keen powers

of discrimination. Unlike other anthropologists, he fell back on the philosophers for his principles, and found in the unity of nature, the fixity of its laws and cause-effect sequences, illustrations of the Pythagorean doctrine of a universal cosmic order. He did not use the exact words, but Aristotle's notion is reflected in all his analyses: that neither God nor nature makes anything in vain. Tylor took Leibniz's *principle of sufficient reason* and made it the guiding rule of his interpretation of the operations of nature and of life.

His "minimum definition" of religion is simply, "the belief in spiritual beings." With this as a criterion, he contended that while it cannot positively be asserted that every existing primitive tribe recognizes the belief in spiritual beings, yet "so far as I can judge from the immense mass of accessible evidence, we have to admit the belief in spiritual beings among all low races among whom we have attained to thoroughly intimate acquaintance." Under the title of Animism, which designation he preferred to Spiritualism, he brought together an entire volume of data which sheds light on the nature of the spiritual entities worshipped by primitive and historical peoples all over the world.

The two volumes of this edition are printed in large and attractive type and have an exhaustive index at the end of each book.

JOSEPH POLITELLA

Kent State University

ATTENTION OF N.A.B.I. MEMBERS

Have you a copy of the *Journal* for April, 1947 (Volume XV, Number 2) which you will contribute to the Association? Several copies of this issue are needed to make up back files for sale to libraries. Kindly send to Prof. Carl E. Purinton, Editor, 725 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston 15, Mass.

Books Received

(Books marked with an * are hereby acknowledged. Others will be reviewed in subsequent issues of the Journal.)

- Buber, Martin, *Hasidism and Modern Man*. Edited and translated by Maurice Friedman. New York: Horizon Press, 1958. 256 pages. \$4.00.
- Cross, Frank Moore, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Bible Studies*. A Comprehensive and Up-to-Date Survey of Ten Years' Work on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Community Which Owned Them. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1958. xv + 196 pages. \$4.50.
- Dalmais, I. H., o.p., *Initiation a la Liturgie*. Ile volume des cahiers de la Pierre-Qui-Vire. Bruges: Desclee de Brouwer, 1958. 227 pages. 840 fr.
- *Douglass, Truman, and others, *Great Phrases of the Christian Language*. Philadelphia: The United Church Press. 121 pages. \$2.00.
- *Dubois, L. J., *Life's Intimate Friendships*. Anderson, Indiana: Warner Press, no date. 95 pages. Paper \$1.00.
- *Egermeier, Elsie E., *Picture-Story Life of Christ*. Adapted from Bible Story Book. Revised edition. Anderson, Indiana: Warner Press, 1958. 288 pages. \$2.95.
- *Ford, Arthur and Bro, Margueritte Harmon, *Nothing So Strange*. The autobiography of Arthur Ford in collaboration with Margueritte Harmon Bro. A man whose psychic gifts have taken him into many countries among people of all walks of life, scientists and churchman. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. 246 pages. \$3.75.
- *Gray, Ruth S., *Stories Jesus Told*. The Parables of Our Lord. Anderson, Indiana: Warner Press, 1958. This book is in the same format as Egermeier's Bible Picture ABC Book and has a beautiful full color cover design. Unpaged. \$1.95.
- Haikola, Lauri, *Studien zu Luther und zum Luthertum*. Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 1958:2. Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1958. 158 pages. 8 kr.
- Haikola, Lauri, *Usus Legis*. Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 1958:3. Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1958. 155 pages. 8 kr.
- *Hamlin, Griffith A., *The Old Testament*. Its Intent and Content, Including the Apocrypha. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1958. 113 pages. \$2.50.
- Haroutunian, Joseph, editor. *Calvin: Commentaries*. Library of Christian Classics vol. xxiii. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958. 414 pages. \$5.00.
- Hendry, George S., *The Gospel of the Incarnation*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958. 174 pages. \$3.75.
- *Hunt, George L., *A Guide to Christian Unity*. St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1958. 96 pages. \$1.00.
- Hyatt, J. Philip, *Jeremiah, Prophet of Courage and Hope*. An interpretation of his life and thought. Nashville: Abingdon Press. 128 pages. \$2.00.
- *Jansen, John Frederick, *The Meaning of Baptism*. Meditations. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958. 125 pages. \$2.50.
- Jeremias, Joachim, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*. Studies in Biblical Theology No. 24. Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1958. 84 pages. \$1.75.
- Kierkegaard, Soren, *Edifying Discourses*. A selection edited with an introduction by Paul L. Holmer. Translated by David and Lillian Marvin Swenson. Harper Torchbook. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. xix + 265 pages. \$1.45.
- *Kerr, Hugh T., *Mystery and Meaning in the Christian Faith*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958. 51 pages. \$1.00.
- *Klein, Carol, *The Credo of Maimonides*. A Synthesis. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958. 143 pages. \$3.75.
- Minear, Paul S., editor. *The Nature of the Unity We Seek*. Official Report of the North American Conference on Faith and Order. St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1958. 301 pages. \$4.00.
- Morgan, Kenneth W., *Islam, The Straight Path*. Islam interpreted by Muslims. New York: Ronald Press, 1958. x + 453 pages. \$6.00.
- Pike, E. Royston, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Religions*. A Meridian Library Original. New York: Meridian Books, 1958. 406 pages. \$1.95. Canada \$2.10.
- *Riley, John E., *This Holy Estate*. Guidance in Christian Homemaking. Anderson, Indiana: Warner Press, 1957. 191 pages. \$1.25.

THE ASSOCIATION
TENTATIVE PROGRAM FOR THE N.A.B.I.
ANNUAL MEETING, DECEMBER 28-29
Union Seminary, New York City

December 28:

2:00 P.M. *Presidential Address*

H. Neil Richardson, *Boston University*

3:00 P.M. CONFLICTS OF FAITH: A SYMPOSIUM ON CURRENT ISSUES
IN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

5:00 P.M. *Council Meeting*

7:30 P.M. *A Panel Discussion*

"Natural Law in the Teaching of Religion"

The Jewish Approach

The Catholic Approach

The Protestant Approach

December 29:

9:00 A.M. *Business Meeting*

10:00 A.M. NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COMMUNICATION OF RE-
LIGION

"Teaching New Testament on T. V."

Bernard Boyd, *University of North Carolina*

"Writing for the Religious Market"

"New Experiments in Classroom Teaching"

"The Religious Foundations and the Work of the Teacher"

2:00 P.M. HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

"Report on the International Meeting in Tokyo"

DOCTRINES OF TIME AND ETERNITY

"The Hindu Viewpoint"

"The Christian Viewpoint"

"The Buddhist Viewpoint"

5:00 P.M. *Council Meeting With New Officers*

Accommodations

Meals: The Seminary Refectory will serve meals.

Housing: Some rooms will be available at the Seminary and others at John Jay Hall, Columbia University and at the Paris Hotel. Correspondence regarding housing should be addressed to Mr. Robert E. Broadwell, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway & 120th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

